













THE  
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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world : and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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## ART. I.—CANAL RENT VS. LAND REVENUE.

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3. *Principles of Political Economy.* By J. S. Mill. Fifth Edition. 2 vols. London, 1862.
4. *Wealth of Nations.* By Adam Smith. Edited by J. R. McCulloch. Edinburgh, 1846.

**A**FTER a long period of doubt, hesitation, and delay, we have finally started on a vigorous course of canal extension. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, engineers are busily engaged in levelling, surveying and estimating. In the course of a few years it is proposed to sink many millions sterling in the construction of irrigating canals.

While this activity, in prosecuting works destined to secure peace and plenty to a subject race, and to wrest from his grasp the dire sceptre of the Angel of Famine, is a source of sincere congratulation, we cannot refrain from calling public attention to a question which affects most narrowly the final success of our exertions. Apart from the general benefits arising from canals

so far as they tend to avert the recurrence of famine, it may be assumed that canals ought to be remunerative. Unless canals are productive in the sense that the railways have proved to be, a great obstacle is placed in the way of their rapid extension. Once shew them to be reproductive, and an overwhelming argument is obtained for the prosecution of new works to the greatest possible extent.

The return from canals consists, generally speaking, of payments made in two ways :—

1st, Payments directly for water or canal water rent.

2nd, A proportion of the profits caused by the canal taken by the Government as part of the land revenue.

The finances of the Canal Department are thus intimately bound up with the mode in which the assessment of the land revenue is made, whether that assessment be permanent or temporary. Owing, however, to the small number of canals, and the non-recurrence till recently of any fresh settlements of land revenue, the subject has not been brought into prominence : but now, when canals are rapidly extending, and the temporary is to be changed into a permanent settlement, a question which lies, as this does, at the root of all successful canal administration, demands the fullest discussion and the most accurate solution.

Fully impressed with these important considerations, a discussion was raised by Mr. Hume, then Collector of Etawah, as to the propriety of the present divided mode of collection. It was contended by him\* that profits due to canal irrigation should be excluded by Government when fixing its assessment of the land revenue. On the other hand, the canal water rent should, he held, be fixed on purely commercial principles. The whole, or nearly the whole, of the profits due to the canal would then be collected as water rent.

This discussion first assumed a practical shape from the remarks made by the Governor-General in Council in reviewing the progress of the Canal Department for the year 1862-3.† It was stated that in theory the best plan would be to assess the land simply with reference to its natural productive powers and capabilities without regard to artificial irrigation, levying a

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 92.—Mr. Hume.

† Resolution of the Government of India, Public Works Department, August 15th, 1864.—(Gazette of India, Supplement, p. 598).

water-rate to be fixed with reference to the additional fertilising properties of the canal water. And again, when promulgating the Secretary of State's orders for a permanent settlement, the Governor-General in Council directed that the assessment should be conducted on the same principles as before: but for lands irrigated after the settlement, special rates for canal water rent were to be adopted.

The difficulties foreseen from the introduction of these special or differential rates gave rise to a very general opinion, that Mr. Hume's views had not received the amount of consideration which they deserved. Some correspondence in the Canal Department, North-Western Provinces, seems afterwards to have taken place. The result was that, on the 14th January 1865, a conference took place at Agra under the presidency of the Hon'ble Edmund Drummond, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. This conference was attended, so far as we can ascertain, by two members of the Board of Revenue, two Commissioners, four Collectors, and three Settlement Officers. Eight questions were put and answered in writing. The result of the answers to these questions was, that the existing plan of assessment found but three supporters.\* The other members of the conference, including Mr. Money, senior member of the Board of Revenue, gave in their adhesion to the doctrine of the Governor-General in Council expressed in the Resolution, dated August 15th, 1864, and advocated its adoption as the best in practice as well as theory. The minority, however, afterwards received a weighty accession in the persons of Sir William Muir and Mr. A. Colvin, to whom the papers had been submitted. On the 30th June 1865, the Lieutenant-Governor summed up, stating that "he was satisfied with the present system, which is the matured result of "the experience of many years, and is well understood both by "the officers of Government and by the people."† The papers seem to have been forwarded to the Secretary of State, who directed that no estate should be permanently settled to which canal irrigation was likely to be extended within the next twenty years, and where the existing assets would thereby be increased twenty per cent.‡ •

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\* Mr. J. H. Batten, Mr. S. N.<sup>e</sup> Martin and Mr. H. D. Robertson.

† Collection of Papers, page 2A.—Resolution No. 645A of 1865, para. 17.

‡ Circular Order of the Board of Revenue, N. W. P. No. 54 dated November 27th, 1867.



Thus the Gordian knot has been cut, not untied. The objection to the present system has not been removed ; the difficulty has been only postponed. Is it likely that all the canals -which are to be made will be finished within the next twenty years, or that, even if made, the irrigation from them will be finally and completely developed within anything like that period? Besides, there is the still stronger objection that, if it has been once resolved, rightly or wrongly, to give a permanent settlement, it is something like a mockery to postpone it for twenty years, wherever there is a possibility of new irrigation. The benefits from a permanent settlement, whatever they may be, are reduced to a minimum, and a benevolent government invites the land-owners to a Barmecide feast, all show and no reality. What wonder then if the intentions of our Government are misconstrued, and that we get the credit of giving with one hand that which we proceed, under various pretexts, to take away with the other. \*

That we may make ourselves completely understood, we will state briefly the mode in which the assessment of the land revenue is at present made. The "net assets" of each estate at the time of settlement are to be ascertained. By the term "net assets" is to be understood the income received by the owner of the estate as landlord, or, in other words, the amount of rent. These net assets are to be arrived at with reference to the soils, average rates, ascertained rents, estimates of native officers, village records, personal enquiries and inspection, former collections, and the recorded history of the estate.† To a certain extent also the prospect of an extended income from breaking up waste lands is taken into consideration. The demand of the State as land revenue is then fixed at 50 per cent of the average "net assets" so ascertained. ‡

With respect to estates where artificial irrigation has been provided by State canals, in all cases the land revenue is to be fixed as if the crops were dependent for the moisture they

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\* Another instance of this occurred to us not long since. A Mahomedan gentleman of good family said that we could not be in earnest in professing to make the Indian Civil Service open to all alike, seeing that we imposed impossible conditions on natives of India. As he expressed it proverbially, "Na nau man tel, na Râdhâ nâchegi"

† Board of Revenue's Circular Order No. I, dated July 4th, 1860.

‡ That is, for land Revenue only. An additional 5 per cent is now added for various cesses.

need on rain only, or on wells and works exclusively the property of the landlord: any addition arising from Government works is to be assessed as a water-rate. The water-rate so assessed will be credited in account to the Irrigation Department. \* But the ordinary principle of assessment must not in any degree be departed from; the net assets will be ascertained and the net rental which reaches the landlord will, as elsewhere, form the basis of assessment. The origin of part of the rental will not affect the process of assessment. The results are to be embodied in the following form: †

Pergunah.	No. of villages irrigated by the Canal.	Area under Canal Irrigation.	Former aggregate assessment of these villages.	New assessment.	Increase.	Portion of increase attributable exclusively to the influence of the Canal.	No. of villages injuriously affected by the Canal.	Former Assessment.	New Assessment.	Portion of decrease attributable to the influence of the Canal.	Net gain to the Revenue of the Pergunah from the influence of Canals.

It is clear from the above that the Government obtains a moiety only of whatever portion of benefit from the canal the landlord has been able to grasp. If, under a different rule, the Government could appropriate to itself the whole instead of half, the present system is shown to be financially wrong. But where the contract between the landowner and the Government remained open to periodical revision at the end of each term of thirty years, for which the settlement of the revenue used to be made, no loss, except of the above moiety, was sustained. We ought to exclude however, the period between the introduction of the artificial irrigation and the lapsing of the settlement, during which the landlord was receiving the whole additional income.

\* Board of Revenue's Circular No. J J., dated August 5th 1856.

† Board of Revenue's Circular No. T., dated August 17th 1861, and No. 18, dated August 21st 1864, para. 19.

Where, however, a permanent settlement supervenes, and Government thereby renounces all right to adjust its demand according to future improvements, quite a different set of conditions arises. This difficulty has been met in the rough-and-ready way we have already referred to. All estates where there is a probability of irrigation within the succeeding twenty years, are to be excluded from the general operation of any permanent settlement.

Sir W. Muir, though strongly opposed to the new doctrine that, in assessing land revenue, we should renounce all claim to include a share of the income due to State canals, at the same time plainly saw the difficulty.\* Were canal rents fixed without reference to the circumstances under which an estate had been assessed for the land revenue, the resulting profit to the landlord would in the one case be retained by him; in the other, it would be shared with the Government. Equality of taxation,—one of Adam Smith's fundamental rules,—could not be enforced.† To remedy this, an ingenious scheme of taxation was to be extended to estates subsequently irrigated. Every five years enquiry was to be made, and if the irrigated area had increased twenty per cent, an addition to the revenue, to be called "extraordinary," was to be made in the following way. At the time of settlement the portion of the revenue in the same or adjoining villages, which was considered due to canal irrigation, would be ascertained, and noted as extraordinary land revenue. The average rate at which this amount fell on the area then irrigated, would be assessed on the excess area of irrigation since the settlement. This plan was founded on the assumption that no increased water-rate ("differential rate") would touch the rental; and is no doubt admirably adapted for recovering to the Government that moiety of the increased rent received by the landlord as the effect of canal irrigation, which it would otherwise have obtained by means of a revised settlement. It is of little use, however, dwelling on this proposal, as it is now of no practical importance, the orders of the Secretary of State having, for the present, prescribed another course.

The whole pith of the objection to the present system appears to lie, however, not in the prospective inequality, but in the

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 126.

† Wealth of Nations, p. 371.

actual financial loss everywhere incurred.\* One half of that which is admitted on all hands to be canal profit is, by the present system of assessment, given up by the Government to the landowner. In the case of irrigation subsequent to the settlement, the whole is lost. As Mr. Hume clearly puts it, a landowner who has no earthly claim, receives a bonus because Government has gone to great expense in executing a work of irrigation near his estate.† Is this bonus a necessary evil?

Following the doctrine of Mr. Mill ‡ that standards of perfection cannot be completely realized, but that the first object in every practical discussion is to know what perfection is, we would enquire first as to the true theory of canal taxation. We will then attempt to meet the objection that our system is "true in theory but false in practice," which we take to mean that the propositions advanced are inapplicable without correction to any actual case. This will lead us to the objections offered to the proposed system, and to the defence made of the old.

To start with, we lay it down boldly that revenue should be the end and aim of all canal administration. Perfection may, in our case, be interpreted as meaning the highest possible return on the capital sunk. It is true, as put by the late Lieut-Colonel Dyas, that the prevention of famine is the remote object of canal construction, and that with Government it cannot be a merely mercantile speculation || That ultimate object has, however, been completely attained when once the canal has been made. Certainty of return has been ensured to the agricultural community, and that certainty cannot be made a source of direct taxation. But the greater or less price of water during ordinary seasons can act in no degree as a preventive to famine. Extraordinary seasons of drought or scarcity may be omitted from view, as special cases need special remedies, which can be applied when required. What we have to deal with are general causes in ordinary operation.

It is now admitted on all hands that the construction of

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\* Collection of Papers, page 22. Mr. Martin (para 5) fails to see the objection, as the benefits due to canals are duly tabulated in the settlement proceedings. But he seems to forget that the greater amount his tabular statement shews, the greater the amount presented to the landlord. For, *ex hypothesi*, the table represents only 50 per cent. of the benefit, the other 50 per cent. remaining with the landlord.

† Collection of Papers, p. 95, para 17.

‡ Political Economy, vol. II, p. 382.

|| Papers on the Revenue Returns of Canals, N.W.P., for 1863-4, p. 35.

canals is a most pressing necessity. We will not stop here to consider whether canals should be constructed with regard solely to their efficacy in preventing famine, even if they are totally unproductive and never likely to return the money laid out on them. Yet, a prudent government would, in that case, undoubtedly be slow to admit this over-powering necessity; it would long hesitate; it would act feebly and as if against its inclination. The provision of the necessary capital would then be exceedingly difficult. We draw from this the conclusion that in proportion as canals already made prove remunerative, so much the readier will the Government be to expend capital on the construction of others, so much the more widespread will be the action of canals in preventing famine. \* The higher the return, the more canals will be made. The more canals that are made, the more will famine be banished from the land. The soundness of the argument cannot be impeached.

We need not complicate our argument with considering what would ensue, were the canals in the hands of private capitalists, the reasons against which appear to us overwhelming. † Mr. Hume however, believes that canal administration by the State "is a flagrant violation of those first principles of the English constitution to which England owes her 'greatness.'" ‡ It would be difficult for Mr. Hume or for any one else to state what is or is not part of the English constitution. As we understand the word, England has no constitution. But it is idle to waste time on eloquence of the parish vestry type, which we are surprised to find used by Mr. Hume, the last man we should have dubbed Philister. Let us beseech him to read his *Mill* again carefully, vol. II, pages 545 to 589, "Of the Grounds and Limits of the *Laissez-faire* or Non-interference Principle," especially pages 569 to 572.

A clearer and closer analogy, with certain reservations, is to look on the Government as the owner of a large Indian estate, which it is anxious to improve by the introduction of artificial irrigation. Supposing that this improvement by the landlord has been effected, and that it is permanent in the sense that drainage or roads are permanent, then rent and the return from capital expended are practically confounded. As laid down

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\* Canal Returns, 1863-4, p. 35.      6

† Collection of Papers, p. 15. Mr. J. H. Batten states these objections clearly and emphatically.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 93.

by Mr. Mill, "when the expense has been incurred and 'the improvement made, the rent of the improved land is 'governed by the same rules as that of the unimproved. 'Equally fertile land commands an equal rent, whether its 'fertility is natural or acquired."\* Under the hypothesis we started with, the Government as landlord could recover, as rent (from which it would be undistinguishable), the profit on the capital it had expended on the land.

But our hypothesis does not accord with the actual facts with which we have to deal in two essential respects; 1st, the improvement cannot be considered permanent,† 2nd, the improving landlord is only joint and not sole proprietor. The improvement is not permanent in the case of canals for many and obvious reasons. At present, and for many years to come, it is impossible to know from time to time whether the water supply will be always available when required, whether it may not be altogether diverted from certain parts of the country owing to changes in the direction of main channels, with a thousand other unforeseen contingencies.‡ We may suppose, however, a time when the system of artificial irrigation might be treated as a permanent addition to the rent-paying capacity of the estate. But at no time can we get over the other objection. This objection takes two forms. As the Government is only entitled to one-half of the rents, it must, if the new product brought into existence by the improvement be added to the rent, invariably share this new product also in equal portions with its joint proprietor. Government, therefore, makes an improvement solely at its own expense, but presents its co-proprietor with half of the return. Nay, secondly, in the cases where the arrangement between Government and the zemindar becomes permanently binding before the improvement has been made, the Government would have contracted itself out of its right to take even the moiety it is otherwise entitled to. Neither of these results could ever be admitted as fair and equitable.

The analogy which the relations to each other of Government and the zemindar bear to that of joint-proprietors is thus far from complete. We imagine that if of two co-proprietors one chose

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\* Political Economy vol. I., p. 555.

† Collection of Papers, p. 66. Mr. Wynne, answer 2.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 8. Mr. Money adverts to these possibilities

to improve the estate, the other, whether he had contributed or not, would be entitled to take his share of the increased return. The State, however, is bound by no such obligation. It is the trustee of all equally, and must administer its trust for the good of all. In its sovereign capacity it can order the improvement to be carried out without consulting the zemindar; and it can demand, so far as it is able, the full return for the outlay it has incurred.

In India nature has been bountiful in two of the requirements of a prosperous and thriving agriculture. To a fertile soil and a vivifying sun another element alone is wanted. To paraphrase the oft quoted saying as to peasant proprietors, "it is the magic of water which turns sand into gold." The effect of introducing artificial irrigation into the thirsty though fertile plains of India is threefold: 1st, Certainty of return is ensured; 2nd, The produce of the same area is increased, \* or more valuable crops are more largely grown; 3rd, A wider area can be brought under cultivation. With the first we will not further concern ourselves, but proceed to enquire into the second and third.

The two effects that we have to consider may perhaps be resolved into the one proposition that canal irrigation increases the total produce. If under these circumstances the demand for the products of the soil remains precisely where it was, there being *ex hypothesi* a larger supply, prices must fall. A certain portion of the poorer and less fertile soils are thrown out of cultivation. Rents will be diminished. † This supposes, however, that the increase to the produce has taken place all at once and not gradually, and that it has applied equally to all lands.

But, to quote again from our authority, "rents have never really been lowered by the progress of agricultural improvement, because improvement has never in reality been sudden, but always slow; at no time outstripping the growth of population, which tends as much to raise rent, as the other to lower it." ‡ This applies with full force to the improvement due to artificial irrigation in India. It does not apply to all lands at once, it is introduced gradually, capital and population

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\* Political Economy, Vol. I, p. 336.

† We assume this as a fact universally admitted. There is great want, however, of reliable experiments as to what the real result of artificial irrigation is. As 3 to 5, is a commonly accepted proportion of increase.

‡ Political Economy, Vol. II, p. 284.

are both increasing, though slowly, and, with the extension of fresh means of communication, any surplus produce finds a ready market elsewhere. We may conclude then that neither prices, nor with them rents, will fall below their normal standard, even if they do not rise. As a matter of fact, prices hold and rents tend to rise. The solitary instance of a check to production that we have met with, is one mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Dyas. Speaking of sugarcane, he says, "the great spread of this crop of late years in this neighbourhood (north-ern division, Ganges Canal) has apparently glutted the local market, and the natural law of supply and demand has consequently depreciated its value, and the amount raised has decreased." \* This check to production was only local and temporary, and its occurrence hardly affects the general conclusion. We may then hold as an axiom, that the introduction of improvements by artificial irrigation does not lower rents generally, nor does it retard the operation of the normal causes which tend continuously to raise them.

Our readers must bear in mind that hitherto we have been speaking of rents generally. With regard to the particular lands affected by the canal, rent is not lowered; on the contrary, it is in all cases raised considerably. The character of the particular lands is entirely changed. Their degree of fertility has become altogether different. They assume another and higher rank than that which they held before in the classification of rent-paying soils. By whatever extent their fertility, either in producing the same quantity with less labour, or by producing a greater quantity with the same labour, has been increased, by so much has the rent payable on the land increased. We proceed to show that this is the fact. As we have already ascertained, the standard by which rent is measured remains practically the same after as before the introduction of a canal, that is to say, rents generally do not fall. But the increased fertility acquired by the particular lands has widened the difference in produce between them and the standard. Now let us suppose, adopting Mr. Mill's illustration, that the standard, as we have called it, is the quality of land yielding 60 bushels of wheat; a second quality of soil yields without irrigation 80 bushels, while there is a third soil yielding by well irrigation 100 bushels. If in the one case the canal enables one-fourth more wheat to be grown on the same land, and

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\* Political Economy, Vol. II, p. 287. *Wealth of Nations*, p. 451.

† Revenue Returns, Ganges Canal, for 1863-4, para. 14.



in the other enables the same quantity to be grown for one-fourth less labour, there will be an increase in the rent for the unirrigated land of forty bushels and for the irrigated land of twenty-five bushels. Owing to the canal, therefore, the rent has increased to the above extent on the particular lands, whilst all other lands will continue to pay rent as before.\*

Here we must guard against a misapprehension which seems largely to pervade the answers given in at the Agra Conference of January, 1865. When we say that artificial irrigation increases rents by the whole extent of the increased fertility, we must not be understood as asserting that at any particular place or time they have actually so increased. We mean only that they will so rise, if not counteracted by law or by the supineness of the landlord. Perhaps some of the able officers, who, in 1865, considered much the same question, did not sufficiently keep before them the distinction between the abstract argument and the facts in the concrete.† The fault is partly in the question, which does not in any way define to which of the two it is intended to refer.

We have stated that there are two counteracting causes to the rise of rent from the introduction of artificial irrigation: (1) The supineness of the landlord; (2) The provisions of the law.

The first of these obstacles, while human nature remains as it is, cannot be of any general force. There must come a time when the landlord will endeavour to enforce his rights, if the law allow him. Any instances, therefore, where a landlord omits willingly or negligently to enforce his rights, will be extremely rare, and may be dismissed from view in a consideration of causes operating generally.‡ Before proceeding to

\* Collection of Papers, p. 22. Mr. Martin, para. 4, lays down that the limit to the price of canal water is the cost of well irrigation. This is correct where the canal supplants wells, but not correct where the land was before unirrigated. There the measure is the difference in produce, not the amount of labour saved. In the first case even, it is true only on the hypothesis that lands irrigated whether from a well or a canal produce the same quantity. If a canal not only saves labour but enables more to be grown on the well-irrigated land, then the measure of increased fertility is the saving in labour *plus* the increase in produce. Mr Martin's formula is thus far from being true universally.

† Mr. Hume keeps clear of this vagueness and confusion.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 120. Sir W. Muir points out that rents in kind and "zabti" rise at once. The same will be the case in the end with money rents. Again, Mr. Hume (p. 80) says, the landlord will generally manage in the long run to absorb most of the excess.

enquire into the law, a preliminary point, however, for investigation is, whether a cultivator is entitled, economically speaking, to retain any portion of the increased profit due to canals. Now, to return again to our unfailing guide through the mazes of this question, we find Mr. Mill sums up as follows: "Whoever cultivates land, paying a rent for it, gets in return for his rent an instrument of superior power to other instruments of the same kind for which no rent is paid. The superiority of the instrument is in exact proportion to the rent paid for it. If a few persons had steam-engines of superior power to all others in existence, but limited by physical law to a number short of the demand, the rent which a manufacturer would be willing to pay for one of these steam-engines could not be looked upon as an addition to his outlay, because by the use of it he would save in his other expenses the equivalent of what it cost him: without it he could not do the same quantity of work, unless at an additional expense equal to the rent. The same thing is true of land."\* That it is also true of all things of which the quantity is physically limited to an amount less than the demand, is shown by the illustration of the steam-engines, of which there were a limited number. Water in India is a thing naturally limited: this we do not think will be contested. It follows, therefore, that the payment for the use of water is strictly rent according to the definition: and that this rent, or payment for the use of water, will be in exact proportion to the superior power of production acquired. By general economical laws, it is evident that the cultivator has not, neither can he assert, any claim to share in the return from the use of water.†

The law in this part of India has divided tenants into two categories—those with and those without rights of occupancy. Tenants with rights of occupancy are further distinguished into those holding at fixed rates, and those holding at fair and equitable rates. The first of these two classes of occupancy tenants are entitled to hold at rates fixed absolutely

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\* Political Economy, Vol. I., p. 521.

† Of course we mean that no portion can be retained so long as there is a full demand for the whole supply, as *ex hypothesi* we have assumed. Mr. Money says that the cultivator will retain a portion of the net increase, after paying the water rent. (Collection of Papers, p. 9.) This is true only where the certainty of return is not of itself sufficient inducement to use the water: and even then the proportion to the total increase will generally be very small.

for ever. \* With respect to the other class of tenants, those at fair and equitable rates, they are bound to pay an enhanced rent when the value of the produce or the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by their agency or at their expense. †

The great rent case in the High Court, Calcutta, ‡ turned on the force to be given to the provisions of the law with respect to enhancement. On the one hand, it was contended that the whole increase should be assigned without deduction to the landlord. On the other, the doctrine was held that the increase should be divided between the landlord and the cultivator. The latter view prevailed, and is now the existing law.

For both classes of tenants with rights of occupancy, it is thus seen that the law provides a counteracting agency to the enhancement of rent, on the ground of the construction of canals or other improvements by a third party. Where the rent is fixed for ever, the landlord can share in no subsequent increase; where the law fixes it on "fair and equitable" principles, he must be content to divide the increase with the cultivator. The result is, that the privileged cultivators become to some extent rent receivers; they become entitled to share in the price paid for a natural agent, and so far are no longer tenants but sub-proprietors. The rent or payment for the improvement is there still; but in their case it is assigned, sometimes partly, sometimes wholly, to the tenant in the form of an immunity from enhancement.

As for the remaining class of cultivators, those without rights of occupancy, the law gives them no protection. They are at the mercy of the landlord, and must pay the rate he demands. § Here economic laws again resume their undivided reign. The whole rent, or advantage due to the improvement, must be paid to the owner of the natural monopoly. No tenant can retain any portion of the increased advantage, except with the consent of his landlord. If he object to pay, the remedy is easy. The landlord ejects him, and so long as competition for land of the particular quality exists, another tenant will at once be found, who will agree to the landlord's terms. ||

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\* Sections 3 and 4, Act X of 1859.

† Section 17, Clause 2, Act X of 1859.

‡ Thakurani Dasi, Appellant. June 19th, 1865.

§ Section 8, Act X of 1859.

|| Collection of Papers, pp. 9 and 13. Mr Money and Mr. Batten both point out that as a matter of fact landlords have begun to seek enhancement.

Hitherto we have treated the return from the use of land, and that from the use of water as indistinguishable. This is perfectly justifiable so long as the owner of both land and water is one and the same person. The returns for the use of water and for that of land follow the same economic laws. Both are natural monopolies, and, therefore, the payment for both is strictly rent, which is defined to be the consideration paid for the use of an appropriated natural agent to him who possesses exclusive power over it.

Rents, as we have already shewn, rise in respect to the particular lands where artificial irrigation is available. But there are then two factors operating to the production of the total rent: these are, land and water. If then, the owner of the one factor, land, be not also owner of the other factor, water, it does not necessarily follow that the rent recoverable by the land-owner will increase. If the land-owner dig a well in his own land, the rent receivable by him will rise, since he is owner of both elements in the product. This will be called loosely land-rent, on the principle that the return from permanent improvements made by the owner of the land is practically merged in rent. But, strictly speaking, the new rent will be divisible into the old rent, *plus* the return due to the improvement. Where, however, the owners of the land and of the water are distinct, the case is different. The total return or rent is enhanced; but the owner of the land will retain only his old rent, which is the price paid for the natural agent in his control. The excess, being the increase due to the canal, will be claimed by the owner of the water. The owner of the water has as much right to the rent of the natural agent owned by him as the land-owner has to that of the land in his possession. Both rights rest on precisely the same foundation.

We have shewn that with certain exceptions made by law, no cultivator can retain any portion of the benefit due to any natural monopoly. These benefits accrue to those who have the power over the natural agent. The water from a canal constructed by Government is clearly under the exclusive control of Government. It is entitled, therefore, to obtain, if it can, the whole of the rent due to the use of canal water. Is Government, then, bound by any reason to bestow a portion of this rent on the owner of the land, or by inevitable necessity must a portion be left in his hands?

On the supposition that the canal finds no difficulty in utilizing the whole of its supply, there is obviously no object in renouncing a portion of the rent. General political considerations do not call for any such renunciation, they are satisfied by the

existence of the canal, and do not require any financial sacrifice to be made in order to fulfil their requirements. If, on the other hand, the whole supply be not disposed of, the price must fall. This is in accordance with the ordinary principles of Political Economy. There is nothing singular in the phenomenon.\* As to the inevitable necessity of foregoing a portion of the water-rent, this proceeds on the assumption that the water-rent and the land-rent are so intermingled as to be inseparable except empirically. This we do not admit. Over large areas, the conditions are equal, and for these areas the improvement due to the canal will be the same throughout. There would be no difficulty in ascertaining practically what is the limit of water-rent. If the rates of water-rent be once or twice raised experimentally and the result watched, it would not be difficult to ascertain the real rent. The process would be that of "higgling," as Adam Smith calls it.†

Our argument is independent of the question as to what is the true policy of distributing the water supply. It matters not whether it be distributed more or less equally over the whole area available, or whether it be confined to the tract where water is most difficult of attainment, and where, in consequence, the highest rate of water-rent can be obtained. In either case the full water-rent at the particular place, whether it be comparatively high or low, ought to be ascertained and appropriated by Government as the owner of the water.

Mr. Hume, on the contrary, lays great stress on the necessity of getting the absolutely highest return for the whole of the water.‡ It may be true, commercially speaking, that if you can get twenty rupees an acre for the whole of your stock, you are not bound to consider the necessities of those who, from the situation of their lands, are only able to pay ten rupees. But if the place where twenty rupees can be obtained is five hundred

\* Collection of Papers, p. 14. This is the answer to Mr. Batten's objection, that in the new scheme he sees no provision for a refusal to take the water on account of its dearness, from a trust in Providence, dependence on the rains, or from the restoration of wells. Under any circumstances, Government could never obtain more than the natural value of the water, whatever system were adopted. The present system of water-rents is open to the same objection.

† Statistics at all trustworthy are totally wanting, as to what the difference in out-turn between land irrigated and unirrigated really is. If these were available, they would point to what the canal rates should be.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 93, paras. 9 to 14.

miles from the head of your canal, while the place where only ten rupees is payable is no more than one hundred to one hundred and fifty, a new element enters into the calculation. It may be that you lose as much by evaporation and percolation as you gain in increased price. Here, however, we commence to trench on practical details, as to which we possess no available data. Before admitting Mr. Hume's principle even commercially, the effect of evaporation and percolation must be determined. Again, in the case of a canal in actual operation, the loss must be considered, which would arise from the throwing out of use of main water-channels by any great change in the method of distribution ; while, bringing in the larger motives which must at all times govern the actions of the State, we hold that the fundamental object of all canals would be frustrated by restricting the water supply to a confined area. On a line of five hundred miles of canal, if the last hundred miles alone are irrigated, for the remaining four hundred miles the canal is in effect non-existent, and can be no preventive to famine. It is true, perhaps, that the growth of the same amount of food-stuffs would be concentrated on the hundred miles, as would be otherwise distributed over the whole length of five hundred miles. Yet, as the distance from the point of production increases, the element of cost of conveyance enters more and more largely into the price, till at a very short distance there is no longer any margin left. The grain, in consequence, reaches but a short way from the place where it was grown, and the influence of the canal in mitigation of famine is correspondingly curtailed. Politically, and we even venture to think commercially, a modified distribution of the water supply along the whole line of canal seems imperative.

The false application of commercial principles has received a striking illustration by the recent action of some of the London railways. They raised their fares suddenly, and defended themselves on the ground that they had a right to charge such rates as would prove remunerative. They conveniently forgot, however, that they are one only of the parties to the contract, and that in exchange for privileges they have undertaken obligations to the public. Their monopoly is an artificial and not a natural one ; it is created by the refusal of the State to allow others to encroach on their field of enterprise. The limitation, however, which is rightly applied to the action of a Railway Company has no place in the case of a Government canal. The monopoly of a canal is a natural one ; for no competing canal could ever be

made. Nor is the State under any contract ; indeed, if we are to speak strictly, the State as sovereign can never be bound by contract. Its promise is at best a *nudum pactum*, which if it performs, it is of its own free will and condescension.

We come now to sum up what we have arrived at as the true economical theory of water-rent arising from canals. There are two natural agents of limited quantity, land and water, which have different owners. Both of these natural agents return a rent or payment for their use. The owner of the water is entitled to the water-rent ; and the owner of the land to the land-rent. Although these natural agents are used in combination with each other by the same person, that is, the agriculturist, yet there is no difficulty in distinguishing and keeping apart the return which is due to them respectively. They need not necessarily be treated as a combined product, whose component parts are no longer separable.

Nor is this equivalent to an attempt to determine which half of a pair of scissors has most to do with the act of cutting : or which of the factors, five and six, contributes most to the production of thirty.\* Land is not absolutely dependent on artificial irrigation ; it can give a return while still dependent on the natural rain-fall. This alters the case entirely. And in the return from land dependent on the rain-fall, we have a standard ready to our hands, whereby to fix the precise proportion due to each of the combined elements.

The conclusion then arrived at is, that the State, owning a supply of water artificially obtained, is entitled to and should attempt to recover directly the whole of the resulting water-rent. We are not aware that, when once this is stated, as we have attempted it, stripped of all complication and practical detail, any one will be bold enough to deny it. The objection, however, meets us that the conclusion, though true in theory, is false in practice. As Sir G. C. Lewis explains,† this common saying means that the natural operation of the phenomenon is disturbed by external causes. We must gather from the opponents to the doctrine we have expounded what in their opinion these external disturbing causes are.

The objections are nowhere succinctly set forth ; we labour, therefore, under considerable disadvantage in attempting to state them fully and fairly. They seem, as far as we can make out, to be the following :—

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\* Political Economy, Vol I, p. 34.

† Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, Vol II, p. 72.

I. That a moderate water-rent is necessary to ensure the political benefits of a canal.\*

II. That the increase of water-rent can be equally attained under the present system. †

III. That the theory is incapable of execution in practice, ‡  
(1) because the increase due to the canal cannot be ascertained,  
(2) because the land revenue cannot be assessed without including canal profits, § and (3) because the amount renounced as land revenue cannot be recovered in any other form. ||

IV. That the new system will fail to touch the landlord's receipts from freshly broken lands. ¶

There is also the objection that the new system would harass the ryots by subjecting them to new exactions.\*\* As the two departments, however, already exist, the objection is one totally beside the question. We, therefore, dismiss it with only a passing mention.

Those with whom the first objection is a favourite one, decline to treat the question "as if this world were a dead iron machine, the God of it-Gravitation and Selfish Hunger." †† We have, however, the authority in our favour of one whose words on this and similar questions must be received with implicit respect. "It is the first duty of the Government," says Sir John Lawrence in the Resolution once before quoted, "to endeavour to adjust the burdens on the country in an equitable manner, and it is only by carefully husbanding the resources of the State, and firmly requiring a fair contribution from all classes in accordance with their means that the advantages which have now been provided to the cultivators of the districts irrigated by the canal at the expense of the country at large, can be extended to other parts of India which are less favoured by nature, and have, if possible, still stronger claims." ‡‡ What are the grounds then on which it is

\* Collection of Papers, p. 15, Ans. 6 ; p. 6, Ans. 1 ; and p. 22, para. 2.

† Collection of Papers, p. 117, near the bottom.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 119, at top.

§ Collection of Papers, p. 123.

|| Collection of Papers, p. 24, para. 9, and p. 118.

¶ Collection of Papers, Mr. Colvin's Remarks, para 17.

\*\* Collection of Papers, p. 25, Mr. Martin, para 10.

†† T. Carlyle, "Lectures on Heroes," Lecture V—a vigorous onslaught on Utilitarianism.

‡‡ Public Works Department, No. 5565, August 15th, 1864, Gazette of India, July to Dec. 1864, Supplement, p. 602, para 26.



implied throughout that the water-rent will be always "moderate" \*; that the price will not be raised "fabulously high"? † "Moderate" we must understand to be such a rate as will be well within the value of the water, and will leave an appreciable profit in the hands of either tenant or landlord. As the prices fixed for water in 1864 meet with approval from the objectors, we may guess that a rate not "fabulously high" would be equivalent to a "moderate" one. If the condemnation of a fabulous rate means no more than that water-rent must not trench either on the ante-irrigation wages and profits of the tenant, or on the strict land-rent, then we cordially agree with a proposition which has never to our knowledge been controverted. The equity, however, of leaving an appreciable profit in the hands of the landlords, to whose estates artificial irrigation has been extended at the cost of the State, is open to denial. As Mr. Hume states it, the landlords whose estates are benefited are "an infinitesimal section of the vast community to whom the property belongs, and they have done "nothing deserving exceptional reward." ‡ He would leave, however, a margin of extra profit sufficient to induce consumption of the water. To this point we will come again when considering the third class of objections. With regard, then, to the first objection we hold that there are no grounds of reason or equity on which Government should consider itself debarred from obtaining, so far as it can, the whole of the water-rent arising from the canals which it has itself constructed. In our opinion the mere existence of the canal is a sufficient satisfaction of all the requirements of State policy.

We find it urged in one place that "a prudent owner of "water would keep well within the margin with the view of "being popular, and conferring the greatest benefit upon the "largest number of its subjects." § Granting the supposed effect of remitting canal rent, we would ask what part popularity

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 123.

† Collection of Papers, p. 16. This phrase illustrates the difficulty introduced into discussion by the use of words without precise meaning. A happy knack of ticketing things with depreciatory epithets is useful on occasion; but the result is to obscure all argument. In another place we have the words "acting suicidally in placing a fictitious value upon water" (p. 22, para 4.) Why raise up men in buckram in order to have the pleasure of knocking them down?

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 95.

§ Collection of Papers, p. 22, para 4.

can assume within the domain of Political Economy. If popularity is to be sought for, the argument might be pressed further and used as a reason for remitting all taxation. A non-taxing sovereign would, no doubt, be popular, but it is not with such Utopian schemes we have to deal. As for the "greatest happiness" theory, such a haphazard application of his great doctrine might well make old Jeremy Bentham shudder in his grave. \*

The second objection that we stated was that any change is unnecessary; that the increase of water-rent can be attained equally under the present system. We do not deny that under existing circumstances the Government can raise its canal rates, as it has already once or twice done. We will even admit that, were the increased rates the full and complete equivalent for the additional productiveness acquired, as it might be where the introduction of such rates was coincident with the first opening of the canal, there would then be no difference between the present and the proposed systems. Such rates, however, would hardly be "moderate," as there would be no margin of profit left unappropriated by the Government. This would involve also the total disappearance of canal rent from the rent assessable at any future settlement of the land revenue. But where the revenue assessment has already included one-half of whatever canal profits the landlord has managed to appropriate, it is plain that no increase can touch that portion, unless the Government remit it to the Zemindar on the one side as land revenue, and then take it on the other as increased canal water rent. If the whole tract subject to the same rates had been irrigated by the canal and assessed to the land revenue at one and the same time, the difficulty could be overcome by adjusting the canal rate so as to include the half left with the landlord, but not the half already taken by the Government as part of the land revenue.

But no such tract exists where at the time of settlement all lands that are ever to be irrigated have already been finally determined. Admitting that statement, there then arises the following difficulty:—The rates must over certain areas be the same; for that there seems no remedy.† In that case all lands

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\* That is, if he ever got there. We believe his body was embalmed, after dissection as directed in his will,\* and kept by the late Dr. Southwood Smith in a glass case.

† Collection of Papers, Mr. Money, p. 7, Mr. Currie, p. 42, Mr. Wynne p. 74, Mr. Hume, p. 86, and Sir W. Muir, p. 119. It is almost unanimously held that the difficulties and complications following the introduction of differential rates would be endless.

will pay the same canal rate, whether they have become irrigated before or after settlement. The whole gravity of the possible loss depends, however, as we will show, on the proportion that the share of water-rent included by the Settlement Officer bears to the whole amount. Water-rent we use here as elsewhere to denote the whole increased productiveness due to the canal. Let us say that the whole possible benefit from the canal had been, at the time of the settlement, appropriated by the landlord and taken into account by the Settlement Officer. Of this benefit one-half must, under the present rules, have been assessed as land revenue. As Government already receive this half and cannot demand it again in another form, the limit to canal rates is the remaining half of the whole water rent. In determining the canal rates for the particular tract, therefore, its utmost limit must be one-half of the whole water rent. *Ex hypothesi*, no difference can be made in assessing different estates. All estates which pay no water rent as part of their assessment to the land revenue, receive just half of the profits of the canal, and all estates in which irrigation has extended, receive one-half of the profits from the increased area of irrigation; while, on the contrary, if at assessment one-fifth be the amount taken into account, Government would be receiving one-tenth, the limit to canal rates would be nine-tenths of the whole, and the difference in favour of the estates or lands subsequently irrigated would be only one-tenth. This one-tenth would be the limit of the loss to Government on estates subsequently irrigated.

If, as our opponents state, the amount of canal profits included in the assessment of the land revenue is so enormous as to be in their opinion incapable of being replaced, we have an additional argument in favour of a change. If an enormous amount of revenue is received by Government from the landholders, an equal amount must be left in their possession, for by the rules of the settlement 50 per cent. is taken by Government and 50 per cent. by the landlord. The settlements already concluded must have resulted in an immense loss to Government, calculated in one district, first at Rs. 1,46,179, afterwards at Rs. 74,830. But the settlements are falling in rapidly now, at a time when irrigation is but in a hardy infancy. With every settlement which ensues, with every canal which is opened, loss is heaped on loss. Why not pause with our foot still on the threshold? Why not turn and flee away from this region of financial ruin and despair? The

exaggerated anticipations of our adversarie swork irresistibly for us and not against us.

The third class of objections dwells on the impossibility of carrying out any but the existing system. The first of these is, that the profits due to canals cannot be ascertained; and that there is, therefore, no possibility of ever collecting the whole increase without a detailed investigation into each case, and a separate bargain with each cultivator.\* In reply to this we may admit that the exact profits acquired by the use of canal water may never yet have been accurately ascertained. But we do not admit that they never *can* be ascertained. Over considerable lengths of a canal, the character of the soil, the proximity of water to the surface, ruling prices, density of population, and the other conditions which determine the profits of the canal, are practically identical. The difficulty would not be greater than is overcome in every settlement, where all these considerations are used as guides much more than rents actually paid or said to be paid.† Besides this we have the experimental method. Rents for the use of land are still to a great extent governed and determined by custom, not competition; yet it will not be denied that there are a large number of instances where a landlord does fix his rents by an adoption of the principle of competition. That the full or rack-rent for land can be and is discovered by these means cannot be contested. And a rent so determined is an almost infallible test of the amount the land will return as rent in addition to the ordinary wages and profits on stock.‡ Where is the impossibility of adopting a similar course in the case of the canal? Let rates be successively raised experimentally, and so long as the whole supply of water is purchased, there is an indication that the rate demanded does not exceed the full rent. The limit would soon be discovered. To a certain extent this is the case with land revenue. The Settlement Officer states his assessment, and the Zemindar refuses to engage, if he considers the demand excessive. We do not, indeed, advocate the system which would throw the whole canal

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\* Collection of Papers, Mr. Colvin, para. 18.

† Collection of Papers, p. 6. Mr. Money (para. 19) says we cannot expect perfection or ensure infallibility. There must be a separate settlement on natural capabilities, whether separate in collection or not. The Settlement Officer must be trusted. Errors occur in the best settlements, even on existing assets. Mr. Batten says that the land revenue will be tampered with on theoretical grounds or by guess-work.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 64, Mr. Wynne.

supply, if it were purchased at a higher rate, into a restricted area. This would on our own showing produce the greatest return, and would be justifiable as a commercial transaction. It would, however, extend the certainty to a comparatively small extent of country, and would thus sin against a cardinal principle to which in our opinion commercial axioms must succumb. But after securing certainty to the harvests over as extended an area as the canal will by any possibility reach, there is no other reason whatever which should prevent the collection of as large an income as can be obtained. The one object is attained completely by assigning the water supply in some regulated proportion to the country along the whole length of the canal; the other, by demanding the full water rent for each tract where the conditions determining it are the same. Wherever the water is expended, the full water rent for that place would be demanded. No profits due to the canal, excluding certainty of return, would be retained except by the Government which owns the canal.

There is also another experimental method open to us. The crops grown on irrigated and on unirrigated land, the amount of return respectively, and the value, might be ascertained by actual observation of capable persons. With correct and perfectly reliable returns of this description, carefully detailing the data in each experiment, the increase in favour of irrigated land might be determined. These experiments would necessarily be spread over a number of years in order to arrive at a safe average. Will any one come forward to say that such a course of experiments is physically impossible, or even so difficult as to be practically incapable of execution?

We would here digress for a moment to express our wonder at the want of statistics on such an important though elementary matter as that which we have just mentioned. This is the more strange, since it occurs in a department of an almost purely scientific character, of which the officers above all others ought to have imbibed a taste for accurate experiment and close examination of results. There is a return in most of the annual canal reports, which has been to us a perpetual puzzle. It professes to display the quantities and nature of the crops irrigated by the Ganges canal. For this purpose it gives the gross out-turn of each crop, but states neither the area of the land under cultivation, the amount of deduction for the produce which would have been grown without the aid of the canal, nor the mode of arriving at the total produce. With those who have any

experience of statistics, more especially in this country, nothing but suspicion attaches to returns which deal in lakhs and crores, but vouchsafe no specific information. Of what possible statistical use is a table, such as the one we have described? A department which can rest content to deal with its administration and finance in such a perfunctory manner ought either to amend its ways, or see its functions deservedly restricted to engineering, and its financial administration confided to other hands.

We have next to deal with the objection that the land revenue can be assessed in no other method than the present. The assets or income of an estate, as it is found in the hands of the landlord at the time of settlement, is, it is said, a clear and determinate thing. Once loose hold of the sheet anchor of actual assets, and we drift into an illimitable sea of troubles. To drop metaphor, we have then to decide upon what shall be the new basis of assessment. Are we to assess things as they are, leaving out the canal, or are things, as they would stand without the canal, to receive any addition for prospective improvements of other kinds? This plunges us at once into the midst of the fierce "natural capability" controversy.\*

Like so many other controversies in all ages, this "natural capability" question is mainly one of terms. If the contending factions could once have clearly set before themselves what the question was, they would have begun to doubt whether there was really any substantial difference of opinion. Mr. Auckland Colvin pointed this out in the following trenchant words:—"Either party assesses first on the known capabilities, rents and assets of the village. Then, leaving out the difference between irrigated and unirrigated rates, but with due regard to wells out of work, &c. . . . the one side look on the remainder as the land's natural capability; the other, as its ordinary revenue. These two, it is submitted, are one and the same thing." Now, this is perfectly incontrovertible, when stated with respect to the sober and well-considered scheme put forth by Mr. Wynne.† He proposes, after leaving out of consideration all increase to the income of the estate from canal irrigation, to assess at irrigated rates such lands as are irrigable (1) from existing masonry

\* This phrase, like so many other official technicalities, is detestable. For the sake of brevity and in default of a better we are compelled to use it.

† Collection of Papers, pp. 77-79.

wells, (2) or from *kucha* wells, \* where they can be dug ; the rest of the estate to be classed as unirrigated.

It must be remembered that canals are of recent introduction, the oldest not having been in operation more than forty, the rest less than twenty years ; there is, therefore, no difficulty in ascertaining the state of things in the days before the canal. It is no enquiry into pre-historic times, as some would seem to imagine. † As for the propriety of treating lands where *kucha* wells can be made as if they were already irrigated, Mr. Williams, Commissioner of Meerut, justly remarks that the well is as much an operation of husbandry as sowing or ploughing, and that it would be equally just to allow omission of the one as of the other. A *kucha* well requires little or no capital for its construction.

The plan advocated by Mr. Wynne is no more than that already in operation, as laid down by the Board of Revenue in the following words :—"The land revenue is to be fixed at such rates as would be taken, were the crop dependent on the rains only, or on wells or works the exclusive property of the Zemindars themselves." ‡ The new projects, so far from being revolutionary, would appear to have a considerable weight of conservative authority in their favour. Can all the difference be made by collecting the same sum direct which would otherwise have formed a portion of the land revenue, and would have been credited to the canal as an item in account ? If the Settlement Officer can be trusted to make the distinction for the one purpose, there is no reason why he should be incompetent to do it for the other. §

There are bolder spirits, however, who, not content with taking existing masonry wells and possible *kucha* wells into account, propose to class all lands as irrigable, which by expenditure of capital can be irrigated. Now, it seems to us that this is a question totally unconnected with any change of canal administration. It has as much to do with the canal as the question would have whether the Settlement Officer had taken a sufficiently sanguine view of the increase of cultivation, the opening of new markets, or improvement of communications in the future. The plan of assessing on future and presumptive improvements

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\* Holes dug down to the water, and protected by wooden framework: They last from 3 to 5 years.

† Collection of Papers, p. 70, Mr. Wynne.

‡ Circular J J, dated August 5th, 1856.

§ Collection of Papers, p. 6, Mr. Money, para, 19 ; Mr. Wynne, p. 17.

must stand on its own merits, if it has any. It is equally applicable where no canal whatever has been dug or is ever likely to be.\* We have no hesitation in throwing it overboard, considering it a dangerous dead weight, with which we have no concern.†

Alarmed by the assertion that the diminution of land revenue could not be met by increase to the water rates, the originators of this doctrine started another bad argument to obviate that of their opponents, instead of disproving it, as we think they could without difficulty have done. This leads us at once to the objection that the amount renounced as land revenue cannot be returned to Government in any other form. It is, we hold, useless to argue this as meaning whether or not the amount *will* be recovered. If we succeed in showing that it *can* be recovered, then, if Government chooses to forego its claims, it does so with full knowledge. Our argument, however, throughout this article is on the one firm and solid foundation, that, if Government can recover a certain amount of canal revenue, that amount will be recovered accordingly.

The problem we have to prove presents itself to us as almost mathematical in its certainty of demonstration. There must be something, however, that we do not see present to other minds viewing the subject, otherwise there would hardly be the same amount of ardent persistence in the assertion that the money given with the one hand cannot be taken by the other. To make sure of what we ourselves mean, we adopt by preference the naked simplicity of an algebraic formula.

Let A be the cultivator's share, 2B the landlord's share or land-rent, P the original produce. Then

$$A + 2 B = P$$

Irrigation from a canal is afterwards introduced, and the increase is represented by 4 x, the total produce being P' Then we have

$$A + 2 B + 4 x = P'$$

We will now state the several modes of partition of the new product :—1st. Let the cultivator appropriate the whole of the

\* Collection of Papers, page 20. Mr. Martin points out that the proposed innovation is the same as assessing other probabilities of improvement.

† The Circular of the Sudder Board of Revenue, N. W. P., No. 18 of 1864, points out the danger of crude or random attempts at conjecture or careful and laborious calculations where no materials for judging the future exist,



increase caused by the canal. The division of the whole produce is,

$$\begin{array}{rcl} A + 4x & = & \text{Cultivator's share.} \\ + B & = & \text{Landlord's share.} \\ + B & = & \text{Land Revenue.} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} A + 4x \\ + B \\ + B \end{array}} \right\} \text{gross rental.}$$

$$A + 2B + 4x = P'$$

2nd. Let the landlord, and not the cultivator, appropriate the whole increase. This would be the normal case, in the absence of a demand from the canal for rent, as we have before shown. The division then takes place thus:—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} A & = & \text{Cultivator's share.} \\ + B + 2x & = & \text{Landlord's share} \\ + B + 2x & = & \text{Land Revenue} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} A \\ + B + 2x \\ + B + 2x \end{array}} \right\} \text{gross rental.}$$

$$A + 2B + 4x = P'$$

3rd. Let a canal rate equal to one-half the increased fertility be separately assessed. The result is thus:—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} A & = & \text{Cultivator's share.} \\ + B + x & = & \text{Landlord's share.} \\ + B + x & = & \text{Land Revenue} \\ + 2x & = & \text{Canal rate.} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} A \\ + B + x \\ + B + x \end{array}} \right\} \text{gross rental.}$$

$$A + 2B + 4x = P'$$

4th. Now let the canal rate, instead of half, be equal to the whole increase, then

$$\begin{array}{rcl} A & = & \text{Cultivator's share.} \\ + B & = & \text{Landlord's share} \\ + B & = & \text{Land Revenue} \\ + 4x & = & \text{Canal rate.} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} A \\ + B \\ + B \end{array}} \right\} \text{gross rental.}$$

$$A + 2B + 4x = P'$$

Of these the fourth case is that for which we contend as universally desirable. At the first introduction of a canal, if the full benefit be ascertained in any of the ways we have already mentioned, and the scale of rates be determined thereby, this state of things would exist from the commencement.

If, at the beginning, the canal rates have been fixed below what the increase of fertility would justify, and it be desired to raise the rate to the full limit, it can be at once done without difficulty, if no settlement of the land revenue have intervened nor the landlord appropriated to his own use the margin left untaken

If the rents have risen, there will be the complication of a contemporaneous abatement of landlord's rent, where the increase is assessed on the cultivators, as it is always likely to be. The result, however, would be the same. The reformed state of things would be still represented by the fourth mode of division.

If, however, a settlement have intervened, in the course of which the margin of profit properly due to the canal, but finding its way to the landlord, has been assessed by the Government, then we have the division hypothetically represented by our third case. We have assumed the share of canal profits acquired by the landlord as one-half, of which the Government takes one-half (or one-fourth of the total canal profits) under the name of land revenue.

Now, here we come to the point which puzzles us. The combatants on the other side will not take our argument as a whole.\* We say that an immediate but not serious loss will be occasioned: but the loss will only be temporary, being compensated by enhancement of canal revenue. Even the immediate loss is over-stated. For instance, in Seharunpore, water is so near the surface that the rent assets would be nearly the same without as with the canal.† We contend, as the other side hardly seem to be aware, for two operations,‡ a deduction from the land-revenue and an addition to the canal-revenue—what is taken from the one to be added to the other, “this, and nothing more.” For this purpose we do not care in the least what proportion of the canal profits it is which has become incorporated with the land-revenue; we only insist, as we are entitled to do, on the fact that the amount is canal profits, since it has been so treated by the Settlement-Officer. Nor do we care to dwell at the present moment on the policy or impolicy of renouncing a portion of canal profits, which enures to the benefit of the landlord, without his making any exertion or sacrifice. A sum equal to the sum assessed must, if the calculation is correct, still be enjoyed by the landlord. That in our hypothetical case is represented by the  $x$  forming part of the landlord's share. Now, it is not the landlord's share  $x$ , which we wish to transfer from one department of the administration to another: it is the share  $x$  which forms part of the land revenue. Wherein consists the

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 24.

† Collection of Papers, pp. 7 and 8.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 13, “The increase will go *gratis* into the pocket of the landholder.”

difficulty? The operation seems to us as easily demonstrable as that two and two make four.

A faint glimmer dawns upon us here as to where our opponents see the difficulty.\* "We admit all your statements," they say, "but you remit  $x$  into the hands of the landlord, while the "equivalent  $x$  of canal-rent will be assessed on the cultivator, "as admitted by you." Very well; let us see what we can make of that. We do not allow that there is any force in the rejoinder, taking things over any lengthened period. But there may be some force in it temporarily. If  $x$  be remitted to the landlord, but re-assessed on the cultivator, there will be one of two results: it will be either paid without a readjustment of rent, or such readjustment will take place.† In our supposed case,  $2x$  out of  $4x$  is taken by the canal department, and  $2x$  by the landlord. It is clear that there is no fund in the hands of the cultivator to meet the demand of the canal department for a third quantity  $x$ . Some suppose that the result must be that the water will not be purchased,‡ but then the landlord's  $2x$  also is destroyed, as there is no longer the extra produce to meet the payment. The real result will undoubtedly be an abatement of rent, either by suit or by agreement, to the extent of  $x$ . The cultivator will thenceforward have in his possession  $3x$  to hand over at the demand of the canal department.§

That the law will support the claim for abatement, we will now attempt to show. || When the canal department demands  $3x$  of the produce, where before it demanded but  $2x$ , it is plain that the value of the produce has been decreased to the extent of  $x$  by a cause beyond the power of the tenant. This is a

\* Collection of Papers, pp. 21 and 24.

† Collection of Papers, p. 66.

‡ Collection of Papers, Mr. Martin, p. 22; Mr. Colvin, para. 10. On the other hand at p. 6, Mr. Money gives a clear statement of how the law of supply and demand will come into operation.

§ Collection of Papers, p. 13. Mr. Batten points out that the costs of irrigation are always deducted before rent is fixed.

|| Collection of Papers, p. 24. Mr. Martin (para. 8) puts his case as follows:—If Rs. 500 were assessed at half assets, and Rs. 200 remitted on account of the canal, the landlord would get Rs. 1,000, and only pay Rs. 300, while the cultivator has to pay Rs. 200 additional. This argument overlooks the fact of abatement being possible, and the working of the general principle of supply and demand. It stands to reason that Rs. 200 additional paid by the cultivator will result in reducing the rent by that amount, that is, in the supposed case the landlord will get Rs. 800 and not Rs. 1,000; Government will not lose anything.

ground on which abatement would be demandable by a tenant with right of occupancy.\* In the case of enhancement by reason of the increase of the produce or its value, it has been held that canal-water rent is to be deducted. If, after this adjustment had taken place by suit, or had been agreed to privately, any increase to the rate levied by the canal disturbs the relation of the rent to the total produce, in fact A, or the cultivator's share, is encroached on. The result is that the tenant, if he possesses a right of occupancy, can enforce abatement; and if he be a tenant at will, he will either throw up the land, or the landlord must grant the required abatement. If the land be thrown up, the landlord will not be able to get another tenant, as, by the hypothesis, the terms he demands trench on A or the cultivator's share, which is a constant quantity, representing for the time being the necessary remuneration, without which agriculture will not be carried on. In default of a tenant, the alternative course of a reduction of the rent must of necessity be adopted. The final result for both classes of tenants is the same. The enhanced canal demand is, under the assumed circumstances, really paid by the landlord in the form of abatement, though at first it does come out of the cultivator's share.†

Turning to the alternative case, where the increase will be paid by the tenant without an adjustment, we must here vary the supposed circumstances. Let  $4x$  be, as before, the total benefit from the canal. Let the canal take  $2x$ , but let the remaining  $2x$ , instead of being taken by the landlord, be divided equally between the landlord and the tenant. Of the landlord's  $x$ ,  $\frac{x}{2}$  is taken by Government. This is subsequently remitted, and replaced by  $\frac{x}{2}$  added to the canal-rate, which is then  $2x + \frac{x}{2}$ . Till the canal demand is raised, the cultivator enjoys  $x$  of canal rate profits. When the canal rate is raised from  $2x$  to  $2x + \frac{x}{2}$ , the cultivator has to part with half of his share  $x$  to meet the new demand. The landlord's rent is not diminished, but increased by the quantity  $\frac{x}{2}$  remitted from the land revenue. In this case, the Government recovers the same amount in both cases,

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† Section 18, Act X of 1859.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 7, and Mr. Colvin, para. 10

*viz.*,  $2x + \frac{x}{2}$ , but the change is made at the expense of the cultivator, and to the benefit of the landlord. However, on economic principles, no tenant can hope for any lengthened period to participate in the return from irrigation. If the owner of the canal fail to take it from him, the owner of the land will. So far, therefore, as the transfer burdens the cultivator, there is, when justly considered, nothing to condemn.

To take the instance on which so much stress is laid, in which the sum of Rs. 1,64,795 is to be lost by Government irrecoverably in one district alone. On the area under irrigation in that district, the amount falls at about Rs. 1-8 per acre. Does any one pretend to say that an addition of Rs. 1-8 per acre to the canal-rate would not have brought in the same amount? Or, that if an addition of that particular sum had been made in 1865, the burden would have been so onerous, as to scatter wide-spread ruin and disaster through the land? To read the jeremiads penned on the subject, one would think that such a proceeding as putting into one pocket what came out of the other, were something altogether unheard of and impossible.

The champion of the fourth objection is Mr. A. Colvin.\* He states that the proposed system will leave the landlord in the undisturbed enjoyment of all income accruing from fresh land brought under the plough. We would ask, how does the present system touch that income? It seems to be overlooked that it is proposed to levy a canal-rate. This will be paid equally, whether the land be newly brought under the plough or not. And if, as proposed, the canal-rate be fixed at the maximum, there can be nothing lost to the State but its share of land-rent. †

But that loss, where it occurs, is an incident attributable to the mode of settling the land revenue for lengthened periods, or in perpetuity. If the land be broken up before the settlement, its land-rent will be assessed as part of the land revenue equally under both systems. If after the settlement, under both systems the land-rent of such lands is equally exempt, except so far as the Settlement-Officer takes into account the probable extension of cultivation. The objection is one not against the proposed change in canal administration, but

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 112.

† Land-rent we continue to use as meaning the payment for the use of land, exclusive of the canal rates. Rent we use for the whole rent, of whatever elements composed.

against the principle of permanent settlement, or even settlement for long periods, in a progressive community.

Moreover, the Governor-General in Council expressly states, that the surrender of future revenue from the cultivation of land now uncultivated, cannot be allowed.\* It was, therefore, directed that estates, where the land under cultivation is less than 80 per cent. of the assessable area, should be excluded from permanent settlement.† By this means provision was made for the ultimate participation of the State in the rents arising from extended cultivation. These orders prove that the question is one which must arise even where there are no canals.

To recapitulate, we have attempted to show that a canal rate less than the full water-rent is not a political necessity; that the canal-rate cannot be enhanced so completely under the present as under the proposed system; that the increased fertility due to the canal can be gauged and ascertained; that the land revenue can be assessed without including canal profits; that the amount remitted as land revenue can be recovered in another form; that, finally, a failure to touch the land-rent received from extended cultivation is a weakness in no way peculiar to the system which we advocate. If we have succeeded, as we vainly hope we have, in proving that none of the alleged external disturbing causes act on the phenomena which we started by analysing, then the conclusion is irresistible that the maxim "true in theory but false in practice" has no justification in the present case. What is true in theory, ought to be carried out in practice.

We are content to rest our advocacy of the change in revenue administration on its financial merits alone. If it is financially beneficial, that alone ought to be sufficient to cause its adoption, when it has been ascertained that there are no sound or tenable objections to it, or impossibilities in application. There are, however, two other ends incidentally served, which, though subordinate, are more or less important. The canal is rendered independent of all other considerations but those within the knowledge and control of its own officers. The distribution of water may be altered as found desirable, without

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\* Collection of Papers, Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 544, dated 8th June 1864, para. 26.

† Circular Order of the Sudder Board of Revenue, No. 10, dated July 26th, 1865, and Despatch of the Secretary of State, No. 11, dated March 24th, 1865, para. 19.

endangering the land revenue which, for the future, is to be a permanent quantity, and ought to be so really as well as nominally.\* If the canal fails, the whole loss falls at once on the canal; no remissions of land revenue are needed.† If the canal prospers, the whole ensuing profit is carried directly to its credit. To the landowner, too, there is a weighty advantage in the new system; the State treats all alike; it no longer bestows on a small number of its subjects what is due to the whole community. The system of assessment no longer benefits those who defer irrigating, at the expense of the honest and enterprising agriculturist.

We might also dwell on the great practical advantage which arises from high canal rates. High rates cause a careful distribution of the water; natural facilities for irrigation are no longer blindly neglected; the necessity of extending well irrigation is brought home to the people.‡ They are no longer demoralized by a supply of water in any quantity at a nominal price. In irrigation we have too long despised the day of small things, and have forgotten, what experience might have taught us, that small works scattered in all directions are more profitable and more beneficial than the excavation of great rivers, however much these may appeal to the imagination.

Under the present system of divided assessment, there can, we consider, be little doubt that the Government is under an obligation, which might even be enforced legally, to guarantee to the landlord the enjoyment of canal profits equal to the amount included in the land revenue at the time of settlement. § To obviate this difficulty, it has been proposed to add a stipulation to the settlement-engagement that the assessment shall be paid whether the canal fails or not,—a stipulation which, as Mr. Wynne remarks, is defensible only on the supposition that it will be a dead letter whenever the occasion arises.||

When in 1865 this discussion was first raised, the debate was ended by a Resolution, dated 30th June 1865, by which it was decided that the present system should be maintained.¶ We will examine for a moment the reasons which led to this conclusion.

\* Collection of Papers, p. 67.

† Collection of Papers, p. 43, and p. 69.

‡ Collection of Papers, p. 59.

§ Collection of Papers, p. 87, Mr. Hume (note); Mr. Currie, p. 46; Mr. Wynne, p. 67.

|| Collection of Papers, p. 69, Mr. Wynne.

¶ Collection of Papers, p. 2A.

We are told that the belief in the ability of the State to secure the profits accruing from canals by enhancement of the water rent, independently of the land revenue, is based upon a fallacy, partly arising from a misuse of terms. The expression "canal assets" is applied indifferently to the canal water rents and to the additional revenue derived from irrigation. But it has been conclusively established that canal assets are confined to water rents; that these rents can never be raised above the cost of supply from wells or other sources; that the landlord's profit is not canal assets and cannot be reached by any enhancement of the water rent, for no guano merchant can participate in rents by raising the price of his manure.

We will not quarrel about the objection to the terms used; so long as disputants understand the sense in which words are employed on either side, the actual meaning attached to them is not of much importance. At the same time it was hardly necessary to tell us that the landlord's profits are not "canal assets" in the sense of the Resolution, those words having been just before restricted to canal water rent. If the landlord has any profit from the canal, that profit could not at the same time be canal water rent.

Assuming that "canal assets" mean "canal water rent," it is not denied in the Resolution that there is a further profit or income from the canal, which is received by the landlord and divided by him with the Government. It is admitted that this extraordinary revenue is due to the canal. But it is assumed that it cannot be reached by any enhancement of the water rent. The reasons for arriving at this conclusion are not imparted to us, but we trust we may be pardoned for saying that a greater fallacy, arising from a slavish adherence to terms and an imperfect apprehension of the point at issue, has been rarely or ever employed. We have already fully proved this, if our labour has not been in vain.

The owner of the canal cannot, we are told, obtain the whole return due to his monopoly, because the guano merchant cannot participate in rents. Now, guano is not a monopoly as canal water is. Admit for the sake of argument that it is a monopoly. Then, if all guano merchants had hitherto benevolently sold their guano, say in France, for less than they could get in England, and English farmers were ready to buy their whole stock at the higher price, what is to prevent their raising the price for France to that of England? If the French farmers still bought the manure, they would be obliged to do so at the



enhanced price, and the portion of the value previously remitted to them would be appropriated by the merchants. In what does the supposed case of the guano merchants differ from that of an Indian canal? In both cases, the owner of a thing in brisk demand is entitled to, and can recover, if he pleases, the full value of his commodity.

We cannot admit that the present system is the matured result of the experience of many years.\* The question can have arisen only within the last ten years. Every year that passes, as experience widens, our doctrines obtain a more numerous and more devoted band of converts. We confidently trust that this momentous question, affecting the intimate welfare of toiling millions and the vast interests of a great empire, will receive anew that full consideration which it urgently demands. For the result we have no fear; great is Truth, and it shall prevail.

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\* Collection of Papers, p. 5 A, para. 17.

Art. II.—THE LATE EXPERIMENT OF REMOUNTING  
EUROPEAN MOUNTED CORPS FROM  
THE PUNJAB.

**W**HETHER it has only lately occurred to Government to make an experiment in procuring remounts for the European Cavalry Regiments and Batteries in the Punjab from the districts surrounding that in which they may happen to be quartered, is an open question, but it is certain that the idea until lately never passed the embryotic stage. Four months ago, however, it was resolved to make an experiment of the kind. One Regiment of Cavalry and one Battery of Artillery were selected as the pioneers of the system, and instructions were issued to the officers in command to supply the number of horses likely to become non-effective by recruiting from the horse-breeding districts of the Punjab. A maximum average price of 400 rupees was imposed; in other respects unlimited power in selection and purchase was accorded. Four hundred rupees does not appear to be a large average sum for the purchase of horses to which the task of carrying 18 stone is in prospect. It may nevertheless be supposed that this amount was indicated consequent on some calculation of the comparative cost of remounts for the Native Cavalry Regiments.

Before proceeding to discuss the merits of the scheme and the result of the experiment in its early infancy, it will be well to consider the two systems of supply side by side, *viz.*, that for European and that for Native Regiments.

Hitherto no European Corps has been granted the liberty of selecting its own remounts. As a rule, they have been supplied from the Government Studs, and, in a few cases, by purchases from ship-loads of Australian horses imported to Calcutta. The latter seldom find their way as far north as the Punjab, though they may eventually arrive there, when Batteries or Regiments proceed thither in course of relief. The Studs may, therefore, be pronounced to be the principal source of supply. The duties which Stud horses are called upon to perform, are to horse Batteries of Horse and Field Artillery, and European Dragoons, whether they be Dragoon Guards,

Lancers, or Hussars. This implies an amount of labour in times of war, which must tax the energies and *physique* of very powerful and strongly constitutioned cattle. A man need scarcely look twice at Artillery working in the field to come to this conclusion. The effort in starting the gun, the sustained and rapid pace, especially of Horse Artillery when in motion, the shock in coming to a sudden halt, each and all of these must try the muscular power and sinews of a horse. If a succession of long field-days occur, the trial is infinitely repeated. But the wear and tear of a field-day, or a succession of them, only represents a portion of what they may be called upon to endure in a protracted, or even a short, campaign. Field days are almost invariably brilliant in weather; the ground selected for manœuvre is generally excellent, at worst passably good; the horses have comfortable stables, and well arranged hours of feed and watering, on their return from the field. In warfare all these conditions may be reversed; some of them are sure to be wanting; at some time or another the extremes of labour, unfavorable weather, scanty and unhealthy accommodation, even privation of food, is sure to occur. If, then, the horses are not exceptionally hardy and powerful, they are certain to sink under these hardships. Should they become non-effective in any numbers, the efficiency of the Battery is annihilated—a collapse is inevitable. The guns, instead of being formidable and a weapon of offence, become useless lumber, incapable of transportation, and involving a disgrace of no common kind in their loss.

It is the same thing, though perhaps in a less degree, with respect to Cavalry. Horses for this branch of the service have a very heavy load to carry,—man and equipment together, it is seldom below 17 stone. This immense weight would in a campaign be daily upon his back, sometimes for many hours out of the twenty-four; and not only has he to support this weight, but he is expected to show under it an activity and speed of no common kind, the want of which makes him nearly useless.

These, then, are the requirements of the remount for the European mounted service, and they demand of a horse, size, constitution, and blood.

Now, it is well known that horses bred in India are eminently deficient in the first quality, while it is only in a few breeds that the two last are apparent. For the most part the common Indian horse is coarse-bred, under-sized, and unfit for hard work. For this reason he has never been used for the purpose we

are considering. He is quite unfit for it ; and no person in his senses would advocate his being employed for such a purpose. To remedy this evil the Stud was instituted. It was an attempt to create a new breed of horse, which should combine the size of the English horse with the hardihood of the Arab ; or, failing this, should at any rate give birth to a race of animals which would have so much of the endurance and stamina of the latter, as to compensate in some measure for comparative smallness of frame.

The idea was an excellent one, seemingly practicable, and no obstacle appeared likely to interfere with its success. The climate of India is favorable for horse-breeding. Eligible positions for Stud-farms occur at different elevations, and under various climatic conditions, which ought to be considered in connection with the breed of horses to be reared. It is natural to suppose that if the cool atmosphere and pure air of the hills is more congenial to the European man, the same will hold good in the case of the European horse. The English-bred, or English-descended horse will thrive more readily in a cool district than in a sultry sun-scorched plain. There must be in India many table-lands where this benefit can be secured without sacrificing the other essentials of Stud-farming. To follow out the comparison. A residence in the hills does not render the European less fit to undergo hardships and exposure, when called upon, than if he had spent his summers beneath punkhas and behind tatties. Horses of English descent reared in a district congenial to their nationality (if we may use the expression), ought not to suffer more when serving in a hot climate than if they were bred in the midst of hot winds and tropical rains. They might feel the heat more, but the greater elasticity of constitution that they would have acquired by being nurtured in a favorable climate, would have prepared them to resist the influence of heat, and to recover more readily when exposure and fatigue are removed. This point does not seem to have attracted sufficient notice, or to have had any share in determining the site of the Government Studs.

To return however to the result of the experiment of a Stud,—Has it created a new breed ? Undoubtedly it has. But when we come to the enquiry whether it has established a breed in all respects suitable for the objects for which it is required, the answer cannot be made so readily. Still, with certain reservations, it may be said to have been successful. It has produced a class of horse which is decidedly superior to any of purely Indian origin. Stud-breds

have many good qualities, among which are speed, courage, stamina, and a tractable and generous temper. They are undoubtedly good horses, but they fail in size and bone, and they are expensive.

Now, let us consider the source of supply for Native Cavalry Regiments. Government does not give them cattle in kind, although it makes an allowance in cash. In those Regiments the horse and his rider are treated as one. When a recruit joins, he brings a new horse. That horse is substantially his own property, and its death a material loss to him. The purchase of a fresh horse to replace a casualty is naturally an expensive affair, and, taken at first glance, quite beyond the means of a native trooper ; and this would indeed really be the case, were it not for an ingenious institution, the equivalent term for which in English is the "Fund." This is the aggregation of the monthly subscription of every trooper in the Regiment. The proceeds are applied for the purchase of horses to replace casualties. By this means all contribute for what may at any moment become the peculiar loss of one. The unfortunate individual to whom the misfortune is personal, has it thus placed in his power to replace his lost charger. The "Fund," however, does not pay the whole cost of the remount, as such a proceeding might cause the soldier to be careless of the welfare of his horse. He has to pay a certain quota of the price of a new charger,—a quota which, while within his means, is a very serious drain upon his income. In ordinary cases, the casualties are not proportionate to the number of subscribers, and thus the Fund in many instances is in a most flourishing condition. It can therefore afford to buy a batch of young horses yearly to replace prospective casualties. By this means, better horses are procured than if no provision for loss were made, and casualties only replaced at the moment of occurrence.

Now, as Government does not remount Native Cavalry, it follows that they are left to their own resources. And having no other quarter to which to turn, they are compelled to look to the produce of the country. In India, as in most other countries, there are many fairs held half-yearly, annually, or periodically, as the case may be, at which the sale of horses is a principal feature. It is at such fairs that the majority of remounts are procured. Representatives of each Regiment are sent to great distances to attend them. Officers and men skilled in horse-flesh are selected for the duty ; and to them is confided unlimited power in selection, the only restrictions imposed

having reference to the number required, and the average price. We apprehend that the average price rarely exceeds three hundred rupees. But the animals purchased at these fairs at this price are invariable very young, frequently not three years old, and consequently not available for immediate hard work. The system in work does not, however, render their age any material bar. Under the charge of the Regimental authorities they are kept and cared for until they become of age. In effect, then, the actual cost of these remounts is not represented by the average price at the time of purchase, but by that price *plus* the cost of maintenance until he becomes fit for the work of a trooper,—a sum which must be considerably in excess of the nominal average price.

It has been before stated that the purely Indian horse is, as a rule, quite unsuited for European Cavalry; still it seems a fact that our Native Regiments are remounted from the local supply. This is true; and there is nevertheless no contradiction involved; and for two reasons:—first, the average weight of the native trooper and his equipments is very considerably lower than that of the European Dragoon; secondly, remounts which are purchased for Native Regiments are not purely Indian horses. From the time that the system was originated, the desire of improving the class of horse from which their ranks were recruited must have been ever present with all intelligent officers of that branch. Undoubtedly such has been the case. And it has been, in a great measure, owing to their exertions and representations, that efforts have been made to improve the local breeds. Consequently the Irregular Cavalry Troop horse has frequently very superior blood in his veins, sometimes English, but for the most part Arab. The Arab is eminently the horse for the improvement of that class of horse. A Native Regiment mounted on Arabs would be a Native Regiment mounted to absolute perfection. The element of size is not an essential with them. The nearer, therefore, the breed is assimilated to the Arab, the nearer it will approach perfection.

Now we have come to a point which bears directly on the question under discussion, inasmuch as the Punjab is one of the principal recruiting grounds for the Native Regiments. By the efforts of the local Government and the private enterprise of interested individuals, the Punjab horse has attained such excellence that it makes a very good Native

Cavalry Trooper. Struck with this fact. it has occurred apparently to the Imperial Government, that from the same source remounts might be also obtained for the European Regiments, and at a lower cost than that of rearing a Stud colt. As has been before stated, an experiment has been instituted for the purpose. A report of the result of the first three months' experience was made to Government at the end of last December. What has been the success of the Battery cannot be here noted, as no means are at hand of obtaining the information, but with regard to the Cavalry Regiment it is a complete failure—so much can be confidently asserted. Although every exertion was made, and due notice sent through the Civil authorities, the Commanding Officer has not felt himself justified in selecting even a solitary remount. Many have been brought up for inspection, of all sorts and shapes, but none in his estimation or in that of any competent individual would have been considered capable of carrying nearly eighteen stone. The fact is, most of the candidates were what may fairly be termed a miscellaneous lot. The requirements of the Regiment for the next year are nearly one hundred remounts. The result of three months' experiment in private purchase is simply *nil*. It is not difficult to prophesy very barren results from the next nine months. If the Regiment were dependent on the local supply alone, at the end of the year its effective strength would stand a fair chance of being diminished by one hundred, supposing that the anticipated numbers became non-effective. The experiment in its first stage merits no other term than a complete failure. No failure could be more thorough or give less promise.

But what are the causes of this failure? It cannot be the case entirely that the Punjab is incapable of supplying occasional good horses, equal, or nearly equal, to the stud-bred. It cannot be that there is such a vast difference between the two styles of horses required for the European and Native Services, that no bridge can be thrown across the gulf which separates them. Some officers of Native Regiments seem inclined to think that their remounts equal the Stud-bred colts. With all due deference to them, we think that, as a rule, they are not. But there is certainly no impassable gulf between them which cannot be spanned by careful training; at the same time, it must be borne in mind that we require not equally good but considerably better horses.

Let us consider what are the causes of the complete failure of the present experiment. We apprehend that, *1stly*, the horse breeders were quite unprepared for it; *2ndly*, that the

breed of horses is not as yet sufficiently improved to supply the class required; *3rdly*, that the exertions of Commanding Officers are, of necessity, limited to too narrow a sphere, and *4thly*, (though not perhaps in this instance, for failure was inevitable on any and all of the grounds above noted,) the average price per remount is too small.

1. To take each of these causes in detail. The first is manifestly of the widest importance. Whether a measure be small or great, if the country be not prepared for the change, no success can be anticipated. Now, the Punjab is emphatically unprepared for the task required of it in this instance. It must be borne in mind that this is not equivalent to assenting that it is unwilling to attempt the task, but simply that it is unprepared to do so at a moment's notice. Hitherto farmers who have bred stock for military purposes, have done so entirely with a view to supply the wants of the Native Cavalry. We have seen that this branch of the Service does not require such sturdy, or such well-bred cattle as the European Regiments. Moreover, Native Regiments are willing to buy youngsters, if by doing so they can secure good horses, and they can afford to keep them until they have become of mature years. Now, the direct effect of the purchase of such young stock is to make an absolute dearth of good horses of about that age. With the exception of the few that are kept for private purposes, every promising youngster is snatched up by the agents of the Native Regiments. It is only, figuratively speaking, the maimed, the halt and the blind that are brought back unsold to the home of their youth. In selecting remounts for a European Regiment, the element of age cannot be neglected. Horses are not to be chosen under the age of four years, because it is not intended that they should eat the bread of idleness for a year before beginning their duties. Excluded, therefore, from selecting youngsters, they have before them the pick of the refuse which has been rejected by the Native Cavalry. Assuredly, the majority of these must be worthless, one or two may have "furnished" into good horses, but they would be few and far between. The Native horse-breeders have been required to supply good horses of a certain age without a moment's notice, when the very nature of their trade was to render it impossible for them to retain any worth purchasing of that age. They have been taken at a disadvantage. Unless this fact is duly weighed, no correct appreciation of the case can be arrived at.



2. But if we are willing to concede that this is so, that no opportunity has been granted to them, it remains to enquire if, when time shall have been granted, the class of horse which is necessary can be supplied. It is indispensable that the horse shall be as good at least as the Stud-bred, otherwise we shall be placing our trust in an inferior material, simply because it is less expensive,—a policy which must prove suicidal. *To be of any valid use, the horse must be at least as good as the Stud-bred.* Supposing that notice of the intention of Government to purchase such a class of horse from the horse-breeding districts were at once promulgated, it would be two years at least before any supply could be expected. If the breeders should find the present offer more advantageous than their usual trade, they might prefer to retain their choice two-year-olds, with a view to their disposal to the agents of the European Regiments when they became four years old. With them it would simply be a case of profit, and as such, it will demand notice under the fourth head. In any case such a proceeding would be detrimental to the interests of the Native branch, which would thus find the best of the batches placed out of its reach for the first few years, until breeding for both markets become a recognised principle. And even if we allow that this difficulty could be surmounted, and that in the course of three or four years, four and five year old horses, bred for the European branch of the Service, would be obtainable, would they be of the stamp required? Of a surety not, unless considerable improvement in the breed were manifested. The average quality of the horses bred in the Punjab is inferior to the Stud-bred, and, until it is raised above that standard, they are undesirable as remounts. Unless Government support of the most direct kind is afforded, there is little or no chance of this ever being effected; and even then, it is improbable that the required standard will be reached for many years.

The difficulty lies in the main in this. Stock bred from Arab sires out of country mares is of necessity small, however good in quality. This is a radical defect and incurable. On the other hand stock bred from English sires is very frequently misshapen from the neglect of one of the great principles of breeding, *viz.* equality of size. *Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim.* Therefore it is that we are of opinion that it is hopeless to expect good results, until by patient selection and judicious mating we have increased the size of the breed. This

must be a work of time, but it is not impossible. The annals of horse-breeding in our own country afford evidence in support of this assertion.

3. In order to enable Commanding Officers to arrive at a real knowledge of what stock there actually is for their acceptance, it will be necessary to grant them greater freedom of locomotion. Every facility should be offered to them of visiting fairs and horse-breeding districts. It is useless to expect that an extent of country not exceeding a radius of 50 miles can give sufficient scope to an efficient and practical application of the system. If Commanding Officers are to be their own remount agents, it is not giving either them or the system a fair chance to afford them no opportunities of coming across the best cattle. Until the system has been some time in operation, breeders will not know with certainty to what market to bring their stock. Therefore, until then, it is essential that the remount agent should have every facility for visiting the chief markets for sale within an extended radius for his quarters. Again, in the estimation of the actual value of such remount, this and other concurrent expense must be carefully calculated; otherwise an inaccurate idea of the cost price will be formed.

4. Although under no circumstances could success have been expected in the initiatory stage of the present experiment by any one who had previously considered the subject, still, even had the other conditions been more favorable, the smallness of the average price allowed, viz., Rs. 400, would have militated in any case against complete success.

If a private individual riding eighteen-stone were on the look-out for good country-bred horses up to his weight across country, would he be able to recruit his stable by lots purchased at Rs. 400, or Rs. 500, or indeed for any figure short Rs. 1,000? It is very rare indeed—probably the instances could be counted on the fingers, in which men of such a weight ride country-bred horses in the hunting-field or elsewhere where hard work is required. They are usually to be seen on a clean-bred Waler, over 15-2 in height, and worth some Rs. 1,500. This fact speaks for itself. The Anglo-Indian public is not so opulent that a difference of several hundred rupees could be disregarded. If country-bred nags of the kind referred to were in the market, they would be bought greedily, but the truth is that they are very scarce, and therefore only a lucky, and very small, minority have been able to purchase them. If they have become owners of such exceptional animals for a sum less

than Rs. 1,000, they are indeed fortunate, and are as exceptionally so, as their animals are exceptionally good.

But what it is our wish to establish is, that horses up to 18 stone cannot, as a rule, be purchased for a sum much under Rs. 1,000 by private individuals, be the breed imported or native. Good stúd-breds will fetch very high prices; well-bred Australian horses are equally expensive; weight-carrying Arabs are proverbially dear in these latter days; and we are of opinion that the merits of a really good country-bred would always secure a very ample remuneration. This is with respect to the dealing of private individuals. It is well known that when a large contract is made, whether by Government or by a firm, articles can be purchased at a comparatively cheap rate. This rule will, of course, bear application to horse-dealing; and Government may, with every expectation of fulfilment, look forward to purchasing horses at a very much lower rate than private individuals. At the same time it cannot be too carefully borne in mind that there are some peculiarities in this branch of contract-purchase which do not exist in that of manufacture. An example will illustrate this clearly. Let us select the case of a contract for 20,000 pairs of boots. Government will buy these boots at a lower rate per pair, than a private individual could; but then in this case all the boots are as nearly as possible alike. The standard of equality is so universal, that nobody would care to speculate more heavily in the purchase of one pair than in that of another. He would simply look that they fitted him, and he would not anticipate having a heavier bill sent in on this account. And the same rule will hold good in the case of almost any dead stock. Now with live stock, and especially with horses, this element of universal equality is sadly interfered with. The standard can only be imaginary. No stock-horse can be kept as a sample. Therefore, both good and bad must occasionally be bought, above and below the imaginary standard. Well, a private individual, being an intending purchaser, will not, as in the case of the boots, simply select a horse because it suits him, but because it is adapted for some peculiar purpose in view. Very often this purpose influences a man so much that he is prepared to pay a much higher sum for it than others would. The animal may turn into a race-horse, and, so to speak, coin gold; or he may be a promising hunter, and so excite the desire of a man devoted to such pursuits; or he may make a splendid leader in a team, or match with some other animal already in the stable. These and abundant other

reasons equally trivial may induce a man to speculate to a considerable amount—a feature which is wanting in the contract for dead stock, where really perfect equality renders selection comparatively immaterial, and ensures equality in prices. The application of this in the présent instance will be readily seen. If the country-bred horse is so comparatively cheap, there will always be very numerous purchasers, who will be only too happy to pay such high prices that breeders cannot afford to reject them in favor of Government. It would not be a matter of importance, if horses were plentiful, and if the absence of a few of the best were only, as it were, an exhalation from the ocean, but the fact is, good horses are so few in number that such a loss becomes tantamount to the absorption of the entire ocean. Take them away and what is left ? For the most part, animals not worth on an average the price allowed. It is, therefore, very essential, if it is the desire of Government to promote this branch of horse-breeding, to pay a price which shall leave a sufficient pecuniary profit to the breeders, to enable them to resist the occasional tempting offers of private individuals, and if this be done, it will, we think, be found that good country-bred horses will be nearly as expensive as good Stud-breds.

If there be any truth in this conclusion, it becomes an important question whether it is not advisable to pay more attention to the improvement of the Stud-breds, than to the purchase of remounts from the vicinity of stations where mounted corps are quartered. We think it will be generally admitted that, whatever its failings may be, Stud-bred stock is in advance, both in quality and size, of the average obtainable from the Punjab. It therefore, appears reasonable to expect that its improvement would be more readily effected. And if it be simply a case of improvement, in our opinion the advocacy of all sensible men will be in favor of an attempt with the Stud, before we essay in the direction of the purely country-bred horse. But if the experiment instituted by Government has its origin in other and wider motives, the matter assumes a different complexion. If it originate in a wish to encourage the improvement of the native breed, in order that, should some unexpected calamity cripple the Stud, the hands of the Government should not be tied ; or if it even have its birth in the hope of encouraging commerce and to promote healthy speculation, then it may be persevered with, and exist side by side with the Stud. It may be more expedient as a matter of imperial policy to recruit from a country in preference to establishments under Government control. If

this be so, there is no reason why the present unsatisfactory result should necessitate the abandonment of the scheme, but there is every reason to deprecate any want of care with the Stud. That also should, if possible, be raised above its present standard, and if in future the country prove equal to remounting the Cavalry, it need not be feared that Government will suffer much loss in disposing of any valuable brood-stock it may wish to place in the market, for the breeding-farmers will gladly pay the market price for it; but, until then it is of the utmost importance that no deterioration in the Stud should be permitted. The "penny-wise and pound-foolish" policy would be disastrous in the extreme. There seems to be no absolute certainty, though the probability is great, that the produce of the country may, with careful supervision, be raised to a considerably higher standard of excellence than the present Stud-bred. Moreover, it must be apparent that such a result must be a matter of time; and the period will, in all likelihood, be no short one. Therefore it is only common prudence to provide amply for the interval, and to be in readiness to meet the contingency, however remote, of failure. If through want of caution a paralysis should occur simultaneously, in both the public and private establishments, the consequence will be at any time most fatal; but if it occur when there is an impending crisis, we may find ourselves in a worse condition than in the mutiny, when the inefficiency of the Stud was most providentially alleviated by the timely supplies from the colonies.

Therefore it appears to us that, while the movement of Government in this instance is liberal and progressive, it is one the results of which will at first be eminently disappointing. The trade of the country is in the hands of certain corps, for whose benefit it is imperatively necessary. If it be suddenly diverted from them without provision for their wants, they will suffer heavily, and it is doubtful whether the European Regiments will be gainers. It will be three or four years before considerable sales can be made to the European Cavalry remount agents, without crippling the supply to the Native Cavalry. At the same time, it should be carefully impressed upon the breeders of stock, that such a market is open to them, and that for that market horses of a very superior stamp are required: in the meanwhile, there should be no want of activity in securing an improvement in the Stud. Government will thus be doubly strong, and, in the event of the failure of one source of supply, will find reliable support in the other.

### Art. III.—MADHAJEE SINDIA.

- 1.—*The Seir Mutakherin*. By Seid Gholam Hossein Khan. Calcutta, 1789.
- 2.—*History of the Mahrattas*. By James Grant Duff. London, Longmans.
- 3.—*A Memoir of Central India*. By Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., K.L.S.
- 4.—*A Narrative of the Battle of Paniput*. By Kasi Rai, present on the occasion. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III.

THE Mahratta power, raised to such a height by Sivajee, seemed as if it were about to melt away under the rule of his dissolute and incapable successors. His son, Sambajee, taken prisoner by the Moguls, after a disastrous reign of nine years' duration, was put to death with the most excruciating tortures in the presence of Aurungzebe in 1689. His son again, Saho Raja, a prisoner at the time, was released on the death of Aurungzebe, only to find his claims to the headship of the Mahrattas disputed by his cousin, Sivajee, son of Rajaram. Thenceforth there were two parties and two dynasties amongst the Mahrattas. The elder or legitimate branch established itself at Sattara, and from it is descended, by Hindu law, that prince whose claims to the throne of Sattara have been so much canvassed within the memory of the present generation. The other branch fixed upon Kolapore, about sixty-five miles south-by-east of Sattara, now the capital of a district of the same name, lying in the Concan, partly below the Syhadree range and partly in the elevated land within the Ghauts. Here in 1760 died the last lineal descendant of Sivajee, but there still remain, in *quasi*-independent sovereignty, the descendants by adoption of that once dreaded conqueror.

The representative of the elder branch, Saho Raja, was content to live a life of ease and pleasure, even to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Mogul, leaving his State affairs to be managed by his chief minister, who from the time of Sivajee was called the Peshwa. In 1714, Balajee Biswanath, a Brahmin, was appointed to that office, receiving at the same time a grant

of the pergunnah of Poona, and the fort of Poorendur. He, by his intrigues and ability, contrived to concentrate all the real power in his own hands, leaving to the Raja the title only of sovereignty. He made Poona the real seat of power, the centre of all authority; and, what was of equal importance to him, he caused the office of Peshwa to be made hereditary in his family.

Amongst the dependents of Balajee Biswanath were two men who were destined to become founders of dynasties which exist to the present day. These were Mulharjee Holkar and Ranajee Sindia. The latter, the descendant of a decayed Rajpoot\* family of Kunniarkheer, a village fifteen miles east of Sattara, had been reduced to such a state of poverty, that he had entered the service of the Peshwa as slipper-bearer. It is related, and the story is jealously preserved by the family, that, when in this capacity, a circumstance, trifling in itself, led to his being employed on higher duties, and, in this way, to his further advancement. One day, when Bajee Rao, who had succeeded to the office of Peshwa on the death of his father in 1720, came, after a long audience, from the presence of Saho Raja into the anteroom, he found his slipper-bearer lying on his back, fast asleep, with the slippers clasped with both hands to his breast. It appeared to the Peshwa that a man who could be so careful in small things was likely to be zealous and faithful in matters of greater moment. He accordingly promoted him from the menial office he had till then held, to be a trooper in his body-guard. His rise was rapid. The administration of Bajee Rao was signalised by almost unremitting warfare. Again the Mahrattas became the terror of the declining empire of the Moguls. Bajee Rao ravaged Guzerat, conquered Malwa, and a portion of Bundelkund; then, after a brief sojourn in his own territories, he marched to the gates of Delhi, surrounded the Nizam, who was advancing to the assistance of the Emperor, and compelled him to sign a convention constituting him Viceroy of Malwa. Again he marched into the Dekhan, and returning thence directed his steps to the North-West, when, on the 28th April 1740, he died, leaving a name which is still recollected with pride by the descendants of the warriors he so often led to victory.

In all these expeditions Ranajee Sindia took a prominent part. We hear of him in 1725 so far advanced in rank, as to

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\* Duff, I. 480.

be looked upon as one of the leaders of the army. In that year deeds were granted to him, to Holkar, and to Udajee Powar by the Peshwa on the part of Saho Raja, to levy *Chouth*\* and *Surdeshmukhee*† and to retain half the *Mokapa*‡ payment of their troops. At Delhi in 1736 when the moderation of the Peshwa was attributed by some of the Emperor's courtiers to fear, and a body of eight thousand men came to attack the Mahrattas, it was Mulharjee Holkar and Ranajee Sindia who fell upon this body with their daring horsemen, killed and wounded upwards of six hundred, and captured two thousand horses and one elephant. In the action with the Nizam in February 1738, which compelled him to remain within his lines and afterwards to agree to the convention of which we have already spoken, Ranajee Sindia was one of the three principal officers who led the Mahratta troops into battle. To the treaty made in 1743 with Mahomed Shah by Balajee Rao, the eldest son and successor of Bajee Rao, Holkar, Sindia, and Peelajee Jadow were securities for the Peshwa, declaring that should he recede from the engagement he had contracted, they would quit his service. At the time of his death about the year 1759, he had come to be regarded as one of the most powerful and trusted servants of the Peshwa.

At this time Ranajee Sindia possessed in jaghir nearly half Malwa, with a revenue of sixty-five and a-half lakhs of rupees. Under his successor, of whom we are now about to speak, these possessions developed into the kingdom of Gwalior, but Ranajee himself held them only as a dependent of the Peshwa.

Ranjee Sindia left behind him five sons—three by Meenah Bai, a woman of his own tribe, to whom he was married in the Dekhan; and two by a Rajput woman of Malwa. Of the latter only one survived him. This was Madhajee Sindia, the founder of the real greatness of the family.

Madhajee did not, however, immediately succeed to the Chiefship. Though greatest in ability, he was youngest in order of birth, and he was not born in wedlock. It does not appear that he ever attempted to dispute the more legitimate claims of his brothers. Of these, the eldest, Jyapa, was, on his

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\* *Chouth*. A fourth part of the revenue.

† *Surdeshmukhee*. An exaction levied by the Mahrattas on the Mogul territories, and formally recognised by Mahomed Shah, as a right of 10 per cent. upon the whole revenue of the six Subahs (provinces) of the Dekhan.

‡ *Mokapa*, equal to sixty-six per cent. of the whole revenue.



father's death, at once confirmed in his jaghir ; the other two, with Madhajee, received important commands under the Peshwa.

The ten years that elapsed between 1750 and 1760 witnessed the elevation of the Mahratta power to its highest point of prosperity. From the first of those dates, immediately after the death of Saho Raja in 1749, Poona had become the virtual capital of their empire. The successor of Saho, Ram Raja, agreed, soon after his accession to the throne of Sivajee at Sattara, to transfer all real power to the Peshwa, retaining only the nominal sovereignty over the possession of his ancestors. He remained, in fact, by the actual deed of his grandmother, Tara Bai, and the tacit consent of the Peshwa, a close prisoner in the fort of Sattara till the death of the former in 1761. But even after that till his own death sixteen years later, though not in actual confinement, he was still kept a prisoner at large.

The action taken by the Mahrattas in the period between 1750 and 1760 may be divided into two distinct branches. The Peshwa himself acted in the Dekhan and on the west coast ; his brother, Ragunath, and his lieutenants, Holkar, Sindia, and others, acted in Hindustan. The action of the Peshwa himself may be first briefly summarised. His chief contests were with the Nizam. At first, when the latter was strengthened by the French under Bussy, the hitherto unconquered squadrons of the Mahrattas recoiled before French discipline and French valour, and it seemed as though by a bold effort Mahomedan supremacy might have been again asserted in the Concan. But discord and division prevented all real concert in the councils of the Nizam, and a peace on equal terms was agreed upon. Later, after Bussy had been recalled by the well-meaning but inexperienced and obstinate Lally, the Mahrattas were able to extend their conquests. In 1760, a treaty was signed with the Nizam, by which territory valued at an annual revenue of sixty-two lakhs of rupees was ceded. This territory included Ahmednugger, the province of Beejapore, and the greater part of the province of Ahmedabad. In this campaign, 1759, the army of the Peshwa was commanded by his cousin Sheodasheo Rao, of whom we shall hear something further on. It had likewise been strengthened by the accession of the corps of Ibrahim Khan Gardes, a Mahomedan, who had been trained under Bussy and whose knowledge of artillery was far in advance of that possessed by the Mahrattas.

In the North-West, during the same period, the lieutenants of the Peshwa had achieved even greater triumphs. In 1751,

Sufdar Jung, Viceroy of Oudh and Wuzeer of the Emperor Ahmed Shah, found himself compelled to call in the aid of the Mahrattas, to assist him in putting down the Rohillas, by whom he, unassisted, had been defeated. Mulhar Rao Holkar, Jyapa Sindia, and Sooraj Mull, the chief of the Jâts, joined him with a large portion of their forces, and completely defeated the Rohillas. As a reward for these services several districts of Rohilcund were assigned to them to plunder.

From this they were recalled to assist the Peshwa in his operations against the Nizam, but in 1753, Holkar and Sindia received a pressing summons from Ghazee-ud-deen, the commander-in-chief of the imperial army, who was engaged in a contest for power with Sufdar Jung, the Wuzeer, by whom he had been raised to his dignity.

For six months Delhi had been in a state of anarchy. Every night the streets were deluged with blood by the contending parties. To political fury was added the bitterness of religious hatred, for Sufdar Jung was a Shiah, and Ghazee-ud-deen was the champion of the Sunis. Before the Mahrattas could arrive, however, Sufdar Jung had given up the contest and retired to Oudh. On his retirement Ghazee-ud-deen caused a relative of his own to be appointed Wuzeer, and went, aided by the Mahrattas, to attack Sooraj Mull, chief of the Jâts. Whilst engaged in this attack, the Emperor marched out to observe, and, in case of a favorable conjuncture, to attack him. Whereupon Holkar, without consulting any one, marched against the Emperor's camp, threw it into confusion, plundered the baggage, and took possession of Delhi. Ghazee-ud-deen, who joined him there, then deposed Ahmed Shah, put out his eyes, and raised to the throne a grandson of Jehandah Shah, by the title of Alumgeer II.

After this, satiated with plunder, the Mahrattas retired. But in 1756, the ambition of Ghazee-ud-deen, who had constituted himself Wuzeer, urged him to attempt, by an act of treachery, the recovery of the provinces of Lahore and of Mooltan, which had been severed from the Delhi Empire, eight years before, by Ahmed Shah Dooranee. Successful for the moment, he only provoked the vengeance of Ahmed Shah, who, marching at once from Cabul, not only recovered the Punjab, but sacked Delhi and Muttra. He then returned to Cabul, leaving a Rohilla, Nujeeb-ud-dowla, as Wuzeer. But no sooner had Ahmed Shah retired, than Ghazee-ud-deen recommenced his intrigues, and again invoked the assistance of the Mahrattas.

Then followed the most brilliant campaign in which that nation of warriors had ever been engaged. The Peshwa detached his brother Ragunath Rao\* to the North-West, and he, summoning Holkar and Sindia and other chiefs to his aid, marched on Delhi (1758). Delhi was taken almost without a blow, and Ghazee-ud-deen was reinstated as Wuzeer. At this crisis, when nothing more seemed to remain for him to do, Ragunath received a tempting invitation from Adina Beg, who had revolted against the Viceroy appointed by Ahmed Shah, to march on and take possession of the Punjab. He marched accordingly, and defeated, in a pitched battle, the Affghan Governor of Serhind, moved without opposition on Lahore, of which he took possession in the month of May, and then occupied the whole of the Punjab, which was evacuated by the Dooranees without a battle. Leaving the government to Adina Beg, supported by a body of Mahrattas, Ragunath himself returned to Poona. But Adina Beg dying soon after, the government devolved upon Shahjee, a relation of Sindia.

On Ragunath's return to Poona from this dazzling campaign, which brought a new and distant province under the Mahratta yoke, he was met with remonstrances on the part of the prime minister, Sheodasheo, on account of the heavy expenses he had incurred without adequate return. This was the first victorious expedition undertaken by the Mahrattas, which had not only brought no money into the treasury, but had not paid its own expenses. In the course of his remonstrances, Sheodasheo made some allusion to the profitable results of his own campaign in the Dekhan. This enraged Ragunath to such a degree that he offered to change places with his cousin, and take charge of the home administration, whilst Sheodasheo should become commander-in-chief. Sheodasheo at once agreed to the proposal. This exchange, at a critical moment, of a man trained in civil employ for a tried soldier, had a most disastrous influence on the campaign that followed.

Sheodasheo set out in the first instance against the Subadar of the Dekhan. This prince, no longer supported by the French, and weakened by the loss of the artillery corps under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, trained by Bussy, and whom the Mahrattas had enticed into their service, was entirely out-manceuvred, and worsted in a combat which had all the importance of a battle, in

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\* In the English accounts of the history of this period, Ragunath Rao is generally styled Ragoba.

the beginning of 1760. In consequence of this, the Subadar sued for peace, but he obtained it only by the surrender of the important fortresses of Dowlatabad, Sewneree, Asseergurh, and Bijapore, the city of Ahmednuggur, and other districts yielding a total annual rental of sixty-two lakhs of rupees. The treaty, however, had scarcely been concluded when intelligence reached the Peshwa that Ahmed Shah Abdallee, marching from Cabul, had recovered the Punjab, and, having out-manœuvered Duttajee Sindia, had crossed the Jumna, and attacked and completely defeated that chieftain at Rudber near Delhi, leaving Duttajee himself and his brother Juttobah dead on the field of battle, and with them two-thirds of the army. Madhajee Sindia, who fought gallantly in the action, managed to escape. Jyapa had previously been assassinated; Tookajee had died; this action, therefore, left Madhajee the sole surviving son of Ranajee Sindia. His nephew, Junkajee, son of the eldest brother, Jyapa, still remained the head of the family—a position he had occupied ever since the death of Ranajee.\* Mulhar Rao Holkar, who had formed the advanced guard of the combined Mahratta force, on hearing of this disaster, had retreated precipitously to Secundra, destroying one of the enemy's convoys on his way. Here, however, he had been surprised by a party of Affghans, completely defeated, and had fled to the camp of the Peshwa on the river Manjera.

On receiving these tidings, Sheodasheo Bhao, flushed with his recent victory over the Subadar, obtained the Peshwa's permission to set out to repair the losses they had sustained, and to strike a great blow for the entire conquest of Hindustan. Everything seemed to favor this project. The Mahratta power was at its zenith; the Mogul Empire, a prey to internal dissensions, would most certainly succumb to a well-delivered blow; nor, powerful as was Ahmed Shah Abdallee, was he, with good management, an adversary to be really feared, for he fought for plunder rather than conquest, and his previous invasions had shown that he sought rather to be the king-maker than himself the sovereign of Hindustan.

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\* In stating that Juttobah, the youngest brother, was killed at the battle of Rudber, we have followed Grant Duff. Malcolm records that he died at Kamber near Deeg, but whether before or after the action he does not state. Kasi Rai Pundit only mentions Duttajee as having been killed on that occasion, but no subsequent mention is made of Juttobah: he probably fled from the field and died of his wounds, for nothing more is heard of him.

On receiving from the Peshwa the charge of the direction of the expedition against Ahmed Shah, the first act of Sheodasheo was to obtain the permission of the same high authority that his son, Biswas Rao, then seventeen years old, should accompany the force as its nominal commander. This was strictly in accordance with Mahratta custom. He then set out, accompanied by the representatives of the principal Mahratta families, who, not having gained for themselves quasi-independent sovereignties, were content to follow the fortunes of the Peshwa. As he neared the Chumbul, he was joined by the heads of the great Mahratta houses, since famous in the history of Hindustan. There came to him Mulhar Rao Holkar, Jitkajee Sindia, and his uncle Madhajeo, Dummajeo Guickwar, Jeswant Rao Powar, Appajeo Rao Attowlay, Antajeo Mankesir, Govind Punt Bundelay and others, at the head of considerable forces. By the mediation of Mulhar Rao Holkar, moreover, Sooraj Mull, chief of the powerful tribe of the Jâts, joined him with 30,000 men. As he passed through Rajpootana and the district adjacent, the Rajpoots flocked to his standard. There was scarcely a Hindu Chief, however exalted or however low his rank, who did not consider the cause of the Mahrattas his own, and who did not exert himself to aid it by all the means at his disposal. It ought to be mentioned that his own force, originally 30,000 strong, of whom two-thirds were the flower of the Mahratta cavalry and the remaining 10,000 a picked corps of artillery and infantry under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, was thus increased to about 90,000 regular troops. Including camp-followers, the numbers with him have been variously estimated at from 200,000 to 500,000 men.

But a short time elapsed, however, before Sheodasheo Rao showed very clearly not only his incompetency to direct operations in the field, for that might have been supplied, but his utter ignorance of the art of managing mankind. It happened that on this occasion, the Mahratta camp presented a striking contrast to the camps of previous days. Then, all that was not necessary had been discarded; tents had been rarely seen; it had been the object of the Mahratta warrior to take all that he required with him on his horse's back, and, due consideration having been had to the purpose for which the horse was required, the burden had ordinarily been but a light one. But on this occasion the Mahratta victors seemed to have taken from the Moguls, whom they had defeated in the Dekhan, an example which threatened

to change the character of their movements. Their tents were costly, magnificent, and numerous ; the dresses of the chiefs and officers were made of the richest material ; not only they, but many of the soldiers, had their families with them, and the amount of baggage made the army of the Bhao more resemble a Mahratta force returning with its booty after a successful campaign than any camp previously known to Mahratta story. These *impedimenta* interfered greatly, one and all, with the movements of the army.

At the first council of war held after the arrival of Sooraj Mull, that wary and experienced chieftain pointed out these defects to Sheodasheo. He told him that though his army might be more expeditious than the troops of Hindustan, it was not equal in that respect to the Affghans : he advised him, therefore, to leave the women, the children, the baggage, many of the followers, and even the heavy artillery, in the fortresses of Gwalior or Jhansie, or, should that arrangement not be approved of, he offered to place at his disposal any one of the three fortresses of Deeg, Combeir, or Bhurtpore for the purpose, and to join him himself with every available man. This sage advice was strongly supported by Mulhar Rao Holkar, and the other chiefs of the Mahrattas who had recently come in contact with the troops of Ahmed Shah. But the Bhao would not listen to it. On the contrary, priding himself on his birth as a Brahmin, and on his elevated position, he reproached Mulhar Rao with having outlived his activity, and Sooraj Mull with giving advice fit for a Zemindar like himself, but utterly unsuited to the consideration of one so much his superior. This conduct very much disgusted all the chiefs, but the sense of the necessity for union prevailed, and they submitted to the decision of their commander, although so great was the suspicion shown by Sheodasheo with respect to Sooraj Mull, that he placed a body of troops to prevent his escape from the camp.

The Mahrattas then advanced upon Delhi and laid siege to it. The city, after a brief defence, surrendered. The capital of the Moguls had thus easily fallen into the hands of their new rivals for empire, and Sheodasheo Bhao was anxious to signalise the capture of so important a place by proclaiming Biswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, to be Emperor of Hindustan. It was believed by the Mahomedan chieftains, who had grown great and powerful under the Mogul dynasty, that this step would certainly follow the entry into the imperial

city. It would have been a bold, but if followed by decided military action, a sagacious, and, probably, a successful course. It would have drawn a strong line of demarcation between the Hindus and Mahomedans, and, as the former had then recently been rapidly rising in importance, whilst the latter had been falling in the same proportion, that alone would have constituted a valid reason for its adoption. It certainly would have animated the Mahrattas, Rajpoots, Jâts, and other Hindu followers of the Bhao, with a spirit such as the prospect of a great end to be attained—and to be attained only by the exercise of the highest qualities of our nature—alone can bestow. That he entertained it, showed that the Bhao understood all the importance of such a move; but that he delayed it, until after he should have conquered the Abdallee, demonstrated not less certainly that he lacked the power of seizing an opportunity of striking at the moment when to strike doubles the force of the blow,—a talent rarely bestowed except upon men of the very highest capacity.

He entered Delhi, however, in great triumph; seized upon a great part of the royal effects he found in the palace; stripped off the silver ceiling of the Dewan-i-Am, the value of the metal of which alone amounted to seventeen lakhs of rupees, and despoiled the peacock throne. Against these acts both Holkar and Sooraj Mull strongly protested. They were fatal to the policy which alone could justify the invasion of the Mahrattas, who appeared thenceforward before the people of Hindustan, not as a nation fighting for empire, but rather as depredators bent mainly upon plunder. The protests, however, were disregarded, and Sooraj Mull, with the concurrence of Holkar and other disaffected chiefs, quitted the camp, and returned with all his troops to Bhurtpore.

This disaffection little affected the Bhao, as, contrary to his true policy, to the only policy which had a chance of succeeding, the uplifting of the national standard of the Hindus, he had at the time entered into negotiations with the Shuja-ud-dowla, the Nawab Wuzeer of Oudh, and the most powerful of the Mahomedan nobles. But this chieftain was too politic to entertain proposals from men whom he knew to be the necessary enemies of his race, and whose victory must be fatal to Mahomedan supremacy. Rather than that, he compounded his quarrel with his rival Ghazee-ud-deen, and entered into confidential relations with Ahmed Shah. The better to deceive the Mahrattas, he continued, nevertheless, his correspondence with the Bhao.

Up to this time Ahmed Shah had remained encamped at Anoopshahr on the frontiers of Oudh. But on being assured of the co-operation of Shuja-ud-dowla, he broke up his camp and marched, though it was the middle of the rainy season, to Shahdéra on the banks of the Jumna, opposite the city of Delhi. He had with him 28,800 horse in twenty four regiments, each 1,200 strong; two thousand camels, each carrying two musketeers, armed with zumburucks, or pieces of a very large bore; forty pieces of heavy artillery, and several swivel guns. His Rohilla ally, Nujeeb-ud-dowla, brought to the field 20,000 Rohilla infantry, 6,000 horse and some rockets; Doondy Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, 15,000 Rohilla infantry, and four thousand horse; Shuja-ud-dowla, 2,000 horse, one thousand foot, and twenty pieces of cannon. These, with other minor detachments, brought up the numbers of the army to 41,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and between seventy and eighty pieces of cannon.\* The Jumna being still swollen, Ahmed Shah was prevented from at once crossing to attack the Mahratta army.

Meanwhile, the Bhao, still neglectful of his true policy, and still hopeful to gain Shuja-ud-dowla, declared Mirza Jewan Bukht, son of the Emperor Shah Alum, to be Emperor of Delhi, and Shuja-ud-dowla to be his Wuzer; then, leaving a garrison in Delhi, he marched against Kunjpoora on the Jumna, about 60 miles above Delhi, then garrisoned by about 10,000 Rohillas. His object was to secure a place by which he might safely cross the river, and fall upon the Dooranees.† He succeeded in storming this place about the beginning of October. Instead, however, of at once seizing the advantage he had gained, he left a garrison in the place, and returned to Delhi. Ahmed Shah took advantage of this mistake. He left his encampment with his whole force on the 17th, and marched to Baghpur, about twenty miles above the city, where he had been told he would find a ford. He spent three days in searching for it, the Bhao leaving him all the time unmolested. At

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\* These figures are taken from Kasi Rai's narrative, who writes :—  
 "This I know to have been precisely the state of the Mussulman army, having made repeated and particular enquiries before I set it down, both from the muster-office and from those by whom the daily provisions were distributed." He adds :—"But the numbers of irregulars who accompanied those troops were four times that number; and their horses and arms were very little inferior to those of the regular Dooranees."

† So called after their leader, who changed his titles of 'Abdallee' into that of 'Dooranee.'



last, having found it, he began to cross on the 23rd, and completed the operation on the 25th, before the Mahratta leader knew even that he had entertained the idea. Making the most of his advantage, he marched at once in the direction of the Mahrattas.

The Bhao, as soon as he could realise the startling fact, returned to his camp at Kunjpoora. But here he found himself assailed by two opposite advisers. Mulhar Rao Holkar, with the true instinct of a Mahratta leader, pressed upon him the expediency of adopting purely Mahratta tactics: of hovering on the flanks and rear of the enemy with his cavalry, of cutting off their supplies, of devastating the country in front, in rear, and all around them. Such tactics, he urged, must in the end exhaust the resources of an enemy far from his own country, who meditated rather a raid than a serious conquest, and must leave him, famished and debilitated, an easy prey to an army which would have all its resources at its back. On the other hand, Ibrahim Khan Gardée, with all the pride of an artilleryman, trained in the then new and successful school of warriors of Europe,—of an artilleryman, who, when serving under Bussy, had seen the grand army of the Peshwa himself dispersed by successive rounds fired from guns served by Frenchmen in the manner he had learned from them,—strongly advised the Bhao to assume an intrenched position, from which he could use his guns to the greatest advantage. The dispute between them became so warm that Ibrahim Khan threatened to turn his guns upon Holkar, if his advice were not followed. The Bhao, who hated Holkar, and who had imbibed a more than superstitious reverence for artillery trained after the European model, decided ultimately upon following the advice of his Mahomedan councillor, and gave orders accordingly to retreat on Paniput, there to dig an intrenched camp for his army.

This order was obeyed, and, followed closely by Ahmed Shah, the Mahrattas retired to the walled town of Paniput, and began at once to throw up intrenchments. The army encamped amounted to fifty-five thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand infantry, and forty guns. Of the several bodies of cavalry, the largest, consisting of ten thousand men, was furnished by Junkajee Sindia, with whom was his uncle, Madhajee. In numbers, then, Ahmed Shah possessed a considerable majority, but there can be little doubt that the composition of the cavalry and artillery of the Mahratta force was far superior to that of the corresponding branches of the Dooranee army.

That army halted about five miles distant from the position taken up by the Mahrattas at Paniput, and began likewise to throw up abattis and other intrenchments. Skirmishes now took place daily, mostly to the advantage of the Dooranees. An attempt made by the Bhao to cut off his enemy's supplies, though at first promising success, failed, because it was not followed up with vigour. For three months did the skirmishes continue. By degrees the superior numbers of the Dooranees made themselves more and more felt. At last they succeeded in hemming in the Mahratta camp on every side, and, wasting the country all around, prevented it from receiving supplies. They succeeded, in the end, in reducing it to the condition to which Mulhar Rao Holkar had looked forward to reducing the Dooranees. Throughout this period, the conduct of Ahmed Shah was that of a skilful and prudent leader. His Hindustani allies were constantly pressing him to give a general assault; but he replied always to the effect, that it was necessary to have more patience, for that every day would render the enemy more surely his prey.

The Mahrattas were now reduced to a state of distress so great that it could be borne no longer, and the Bhao, who up to this moment had still trusted to his negotiation with Shuja-ud-dowla, became convinced at last that it was necessary to hazard the fortunes of the campaign and the glory of the Mahratta Empire on a single battle. His mind once made up, he directed his whole energy to carry the plan to a successful issue.

One hour before daybreak on the 7th January, 1761, he moved out with his whole force. He commanded the centre in person, Biswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, being at his side. On the extreme left was posted Ibrahim Khan Gardée with the main body of the infantry. Sindia held the extreme right, and next to him was Holkar. The artillery covered the whole line. In this order they advanced boldly, with every sign of the determination of desperate men, towards the camp of the Dooranees.

Ahmed Shah, on his side, was not negligent. Intelligence of the movements of the Mahrattas had been conveyed to him as soon as they were descried by his scouts. He at once ranged his men in order of battle, and, with true military sagacity, did not allow them to wait the attack, but advanced to meet the enemy. His Wuzeer, Shah Wali Khan, commanded the centre, with which were the Affghans; the Rohillas under Doondy Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, supported by some Persian troops, were on the right; whilst on the extreme left the Rohillas under Nujeeb-ud-dowla, and the

troops of Shuja-ud-dowla, were supported by a chosen body of Affghans. It will be noticed that whilst Ahmed Shah composed his centre of the troops upon whom he could most rely, he strengthened both his wings by detachments of the same quality. He himself took up a position in rear of the army, overlooking the field.

Upon the result of the battle now about to ensue it depended whether the main course in which events had run for the previous five hundred and sixty years should or should not be completely turned aside ; whether the yoke, which the Mahomedan chiefs of various families had imposed during that period on the indigenous population of India should still remain fixed, or be broken off for ever ; whether, in fact, the rule of India should continue in the hands of the descendants of its foreign conquerors, or revert to those of the Hindu children of the soil. For to this, in spite of the vacillating conduct of the Bhao, it had come at last ; though, thanks to that vacillating conduct, he had lost the advantages which an earlier profession of the real point at issue would undoubtedly have secured for him. It was a contest for empire between the Mussulman and the Hindu.

The battle began, about an hour after sunrise, by a furious and well-sustained attack by the left wing of the Mahrattas, under Ibrahim Khan Gardes, upon the right wing of the enemy, composed mainly of Rohillas. The contest here was very fierce, and raged with doubtful fortune for about three hours. Almost simultaneously with the first shock of attack, the Bhao charged the centre of the enemy's army with great impetuosity. Success seemed to shine upon him. He pierced through the main body of which it was composed, completely breaking them as he did so. Only about four hundred horse, and a few zumburuck-bearing camels rallied about the Wuzeer, who had himself dismounted to fight on foot. This small body of men alone stood between the Bhao and complete victory ; for, the centre once completely pierced, nothing could have saved the Dooranees. It wanted but a continuance of that onward movement which had, till then, carried all before it.

But it was not made. Whilst the Wuzeer himself believed the battle lost and sent to both his wings for aid, the Bhao apparently did not see that its issue was in his hands. One more charge and it was gained. Instead of charging, his men halted to fire, and during that halt events occurred which restored the lost fortunes of the Dooranees.

For, whilst the events we have recorded were progressing on the centre and right of their army, the troops on its left were not less threatened by the flower of the Mahratta army, under Sindia and Holkar. Here, if anywhere, the Mahrattas might hope for victory; for the name of Mulhar Rao Holkar was famous over India, and the energy of the representatives of the house of Sindia had made itself felt on many a contested field. And, in truth, never did the chiefs of that famous house more distinguish themselves than on this day. But Mulhar Rao—whether it was that this tried warrior had been so disgusted with the treatment he had received from the Bhao, that he determined not to exert himself, or whether he had a secret understanding, as some have asserted, with the enemy, this at least is certain, that he displayed on this day a cautious reserve such as he had never shown before on the field of battle. Nevertheless, thanks to the daring valour of Sindia's warriors, the battle was maintained with at least equal advantage on the right wing of the Mahrattas.

At noon the state of affairs was nearly as follows. On their left wing, the Mahratta troops under Ibrahim Khan Gardée had gained a decided advantage over the enemy, yet not so great as to be in any way decisive; on their right, the balance of advantage was also on the side of the Mahrattas; in the centre, the Bhao had gained a very decided superiority. For, although the Dooranee Wuzeer had sent to his two wings for aid, none could thence be spared, for those wings were themselves hard pressed; he had indeed rallied some fugitives, encouraged by the unaccountable halt made by the Bhao, and he had sent pressing messages to Ahmed Shah: unless these should be promptly responded to, any forward movement on the part of the Bhao must be his ruin. We can easily see, with both wings gradually pressed back, what must have been the certain result if the Bhao had only succeeded in breaking through the few men that still constituted the centre of the army.

It was just at this time when the intelligence that the battle was going against him reached Ahmed Shah. That great prince showed himself, in this decisive moment, well worthy of his reputation. He first despatched a body of horse to turn the fugitives and stragglers; he then ordered four thousand men to charge Ibrahim Khan Gardée, who was pressing his right flank very hard; whilst ten thousand were sent to support the centre, and not to support it only. Their leader received strict orders to charge the Mahrattas in close order, sword in hand, at full gallop.

Instructions were also sent to the Affghan cavalry on the left wing, which was maintaining its ground better than the others, to charge the flank of the Bhao at the same time that the others should attack him in front. These orders were executed to the letter. The effect was what it must always be, whenever a body in repose is attacked by a body in swift and rapid motion. The Mahrattas, indeed, made a gallant resistance. Biswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was terribly wounded, and unable to sit his horse; he continued nevertheless to animate his men from the back of an elephant. The Bhao still on horseback fought like a common soldier at the head of his own men. But all would not do. He had missed his great opportunity. He could not expect the Fortune with which he had dallied for more than two hours to grant him a second chance on the very same day. The Dooranees, on the contrary, were resolved to make the most of theirs. For more than an hour after this powerful attack, the Bhao and his followers made head against the enemy. After that, every minute their defence became weaker. Not only was it that the lighter frames of the Mahrattas were less capable of sustaining continued fatigue than those of the northern horsemen, but these latter were continually reinforced by the fugitives from the first attack. At length they could bear it no longer; they gave way and fled in confusion, closely and hotly pursued. No victory could be more complete. It has been computed that of the entire occupants of the Mahratta camp at Paniput, including women and children, and amounting to 500,000, nearly all were destroyed; nearly all the prisoners taken were murdered in cold blood, and the Hindu chronicles relate that in the Dooranee camp on the following morning every tent, with the exception of those of the Shah and his principal officers, had heads piled up before the door. Biswas Rao died of his wounds. Junkajee Sindia, severely wounded and taken prisoner, was murdered in camp, in pursuance of the machinations of Nujeeb-ud-dowla who hated all his race; Ibrahim Khan Gardee, also wounded and taken prisoner, was treated by Ahmed Shah with insolence and cruelty, so much so that he died seven days after; the dead body of the Bhao was found upon the field of battle.\* Mulhar Rao Holkar, Dummajee Guickwar, and some other chiefs fled from the field of battle and escaped.

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\* This, at least, is the general belief. But many years after, a man made his appearance who declared himself to be the Bhao. The mystery, which excited great interest at the time, has never been cleared up; many believing him to be the Bhao, others regarding him as an imposter. The supposed Bhao was confined for many years in the fort of Chunar, but

We have been particular in detailing the history of the campaign of which the battle of Paniput was the crowning incident, because, although apparently unconnected with the rise of the house of Sindia, its result greatly affected the fortunes of that family. Had the Mahrattas proved victorious at Paniput, there can be no doubt whatever but that the following day Biswas Rao, or his father, Balajee Bajee Rao, would have been proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan; Junkajee would have remained head of the house of Sindia, and succession would have continued in a direct line from him, to the exclusion of the illegitimate but more able Madhajee; and who can say what position Junkajee and his successors would have occupied under the Government of a prince who would himself have aspired to regard all the provinces of Hindustan as constituting one empire subject to himself? The defeat of Paniput had a material effect, then, on the fortunes of the house of Sindia. Though the immediate results of it were to despoil that family of its possessions, and to cut off all the members of the family save one illegitimate offshoot; yet, in the end, all these apparent misfortunes proved advantageous; they were the discipline which led to its greatness. The power which it ultimately acquired, overshadowing that of the Peshwa himself,—the position it maintained in the early part of the present century, and which enabled it to dispute for the Empire of India with the British,—may all be traced to the defeat at Paniput.

At that battle, it is only recorded of Madhajee, that he commanded there under his nephew Junkajee, and that they both signalled themselves by their valour. The distinguished part taken by Sindia's contingent in that famous battle has been already noticed. Notwithstanding the lukewarm support of Mulhar Rao Holkar, who left the field before the action had been irrevocably decided, the two chiefs of Sindia not only lost no ground, but maintained their position on the right with advantage, until the complete defeat of the centre of the Mahratta army left them exposed to destruction. That defeat was so crushing that it involved with it the immediate defeat of the wings as well. Junkajee, wounded, was, as we have seen, taken prisoner; but Madhajee formed one of the throng of fugitives. He was mounted on a fine

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was released by order of Warren Hastings in 1781. He died soon after at Benares. He left a manuscript history of his life behind him, which would have aided to clear up the truth of his claims, but it was not taken care of by the English Resident to whom it had been entrusted, and was destroyed by vermin.

Dekhany mare, which had carried him throughout the action, and he trusted to her speed to escape. But the mare had been engaged in desperate exertions for about nine hours, and was already fatigued. She obeyed nevertheless the indications of the rider's hand, and exerted herself to take him out of the reach of the enemy. Her fine shape had, however, been marked by an Affghan trooper, and Madhajee had scarcely cleared himself from the ruck when he turned round and saw himself followed by a man, mounted on a strong, ambling, and apparently fresh animal, bent evidently on pursuing him. In vain did Madhajee exert all the arts of a well-skilled horseman to evade the pursuit. In vain did he endeavour, when some distance ahead, to rest his mare; whenever he turned his head, his eye rested on the same trooper, going at the same steady pace, and his gaze fixed upon himself. At last his mare could go on no longer. Endeavouring to clear a ditch, she fell into it, Madhajee falling with her. Before he could recover himself, the Affghan was upon him, and striking at him with his battle-axe, caught him on the knee, and felled him to the earth with a wound which deprived him for ever after of the use of his right leg. Where he fell, there was he left to lie, the Affghan being content with stripping his person of some ornaments, and taking away the mare. Incapable of moving, Madhajee was found there some hours after by a water-carrier, also one of the fugitives, who placed him upon his bullock, and carried him towards the Dekhan.\*

The news of the disaster at Paniput crushed for a time the Mahratta confederacy to the dust. To the Peshwa, Balajee Bajee Rao, who had been long ailing, it was the final award of destiny. He survived the intelligence but a few days. His eldest son, Biswas Rao, had perished. The succession devolved, therefore, upon the next in order of birth, Madho Rao Bullal, then in his seventeenth year.

To the wars with the Subadar of the Dekhan, and the disputes for supremacy at the Court of the Peshwa which followed, we propose to allude only so far as they affect the fortunes of

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\* Malcolm, from whom this story is taken, adds, that Madhajee used to relate that the circumstance of the flight and pursuit made so strong an impression upon him, that he could not for a long time sleep without seeing the Affghan and his clumsy charger pacing after him and his fine Dekhany mare. He further states that the service of the water-carrier was gratefully rewarded; he was raised to high commands in the army, and afterwards loaded with favours.

Madhajee. It will suffice if we mention that during the first four years of his reign, the difficulties with which the new Peshwa, then a minor, had to contend, were caused by the ambition of his uncle, Ragunath Rao, who was too anxious to draw into his own hands all the power of the State. The penetration and tact of Madho Rao, however, foiled all his plans.

On arriving at Poona, wounded and lamed for life, after the disastrous day of Paniput, Madhajee applied to be recognised as the chief of the house of Sindia. That house had, indeed, lost all its possessions in Hindustan and Malwa by the issue of the battle, but in those days that which was lost one day might be regained the next, and it was certain that with Madhajee at its head, the reputation of the house of Sindia would not be long in recovering, and more than recovering, the lustre it had lost. His pretensions were opposed on two grounds : the one, because he was illegitimate ; the other, because there still survived a grandson of Ranajee, the son of Tookajee, brother to Madhajee by the same mother. The claims of this lad, whose name was Kedarjee, were advocated by Ragunath Rao, who suggested that Madhajee should act only as guardian during the minority of his nephew. But Madhajee very justly pointed out that the objection which barred the succession to himself, barred it equally to his nephew ; that nephew being the son of his own brother and illegitimate like himself. The Peshwa, Madho Rao, recognised the force of this argument, and, notwithstanding the strong opposition of his uncle, conferred the headship of the family upon Madhajee. The opposition offered by Ragunath Rao was never forgotten by Madhajee.

Madhajee was appointed, in the first instance, to command the household troops of the young Peshwa. His first employment after obtaining this office appears to have been as commandant of one of the divisions of the army sent by the Peshwa into Malwa in 1764. In this campaign he laid the foundation of the means for attaining to future greatness. "He had succeeded," says Malcolm, \* "to all those assignments of lands made "to his father to pay the troops of the family ; and both in "Central India and in Hindustan, Raja after Raja was laid "under contribution, and district after district added to the "territory he governed in the name of the Peshwa ; and "although the share of the latter in these possessions was

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\* Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 121.



“only nominal, his commands were made the pretext for exactions and conquests from which his own territories were not exempt, for Madhajeé took full advantage of the dissensions that occurred in Poona after the death of Balajeé, to usurp, as far as he could, the rights and lands of the head of “the Empire to the north of the Nerbudda.”

This expedition into Malwa in 1764, must not be confounded as it has been by some writers, with a later expedition under Visajeé Krishna into Hindustan, for a purpose hereafter to be described. From the first expedition we find Madhajeé returned to Poona in 1766, occupying still the office of commandant of the household troops of the Peshwa, and possessing considerable influence at the Court of Poona. An event just then occurred which put that influence to the test. In 1766, Mulhar Rao Holkar died. This event was followed almost immediately by the death of his grandson, Mallee Rao. Ragunath Rao, then all-powerful at the Peshwa's Court, and who was actually in command of the army in the field, supported the Dewan of the deceased prince in an endeavour to effect an arrangement by which the widow of his late son, Koondée Rao, the famous Ahalya Bai, would have been dispossessed of her inheritance, and the power of the Holkar family materially reduced. The generous mind of the youthful Peshwa revolted against the perpetration of such an injustice, and he found a strong supporter in Madhajeé and in Janoojee Bhonsla, both of whom positively refused to act against Ahalya Bai, if any attempt were made to coerce her. Ragunath Rao accordingly gave in, and the administration of Ahalya Bai afforded a spectacle of enlightened rule, such as the natives of India can refer to with pride, and which contrasts favourably with the rule of many European princes even of our own time.

Nothing very materially affecting the fortunes of Madhajeé occurred till the year 1760, when we find him in command of fifteen thousand horse, forming a division of the army which, under Visajeé Krishna, the Quarter-Master-General of the Mahatta armies, was destined to march into Hindustan, and avenge the defeat of Paniput. The occasion was singularly propitious. The battle of Paniput, fatal as it had proved at the time to the Mahrattas, had been scarcely less so to the representative of the house of Timour, the Emperor Shah Alum. The victory had benefited Ahmed Shah Abdallee, and his allies, Nujeeb-ud-dowla the Rohilla, and Shuja-ud-dowla the

Wuzeer of Oudh. But Ahmed Shah, loaded with plunder, had long since returned to Cabul. Of the two others, Shuja-ud-dowla had engaged in hostilities against the English, had been beaten at Buxar, and after losing some of the districts of his province, had been recognised by that people as Vizier of the Empire. He had since remained principally in his province. The other, Nujeeb-ud-dowla, had taken up his position at Delhi, there to govern in the name of the Emperor. His position, however, gave him no real power; he was dependent mainly on the Rohillas; the Emperor, then absent with the English, chafed under his supremacy, and he was engaged in constant affrays with the Jâts and roving bands of Mahrattas, some of whom had even the audacity to threaten Delhi. The intelligence of the approach of a grand army of the same warriors under Visajee Krishna threw Nujeeb-ud-dowla into dismay; in vain he attempted to negotiate.

There was a man in the Mahratta army, who had fled from Paniput, and who saw that the time had now arrived to recover almost all the power and influence then so fatally lost. That man was Madhajee Sindia. This chieftain not only by virtue of his position took a high place in the councils of the Commander-in-chief, but by reason of his character he directed the entire policy of the campaign. Visajee would have treated, but Madhajee would not. Whilst negotiations in the true Oriental style were pending, Nujeeb-ud-dowla died.

It was deemed advisable in the Mahratta camp to take advantage of this incident to conquer and ravage the country of the Rohillas, even to threaten Shuja-ud-dowla and Oudh, before making any attempt upon Delhi. The result showed the wisdom and prudence of this policy. The Emperor Shah Alum, anxious to be rid for ever of the family of Nujeeb-ud-dowla, whose son, Zabita Khan, had taken his father's place at Delhi, determined to leave the English, and throw himself under Mahratta protection; whilst Shuja-ud-dowla was made to feel that his security depended upon his abstaining from all interference. Even the English in Bengal anticipated for a moment that they might have to contend, in the infancy of their power in that Presidency, with the full force of the Peshwa. But for them the contest was postponed.

The Emperor Shah Alum, escorted by Madhajee Sindia, entered the city of his ancestors in the month of December 1771. The Mahrattas then, secure of the capital, poured into Rohilcund. The attempts made by the hereditary chief-

tains of that province were futile. The country was nearly entirely overrun. To save the remainder from subjugation, the Rohillas, in the month of June 1772, concluded a treaty with Shuja-ud-dowla, the Wuzer of Oudh, and the only remaining representative of independent Mahomedan authority in Hindustan. But before this alliance produced any practical result, an event occurred which changed for a time the position and prospects of the Mahratta protectors of the Emperor Shah Alum.

On the 18th November 1772, the Peshwa, Madho Rao, died. Narain Rao, his brother, who succeeded him, sent orders to recall the army from Hindustan, but before they could be carried out, Narain Rao himself had fallen a victim to a murderous conspiracy. The office of Peshwa then devolved upon his uncle, the famous Ragunath Rao, the enemy of Madhajee. Soon after his accession, the main army under Madhajee arrived from Hindustan, having left, however, a portion under the commander-in-chief and Tookajee Holkar to maintain Rohilcund. This portion had to meet a conspiracy formed by the Emperor Shah Alum to emancipate himself. In a pitched battle, fought near Delhi in December 1772, the Emperor was defeated, and was forced to submit to the terms imposed upon him by the conquerors; the principal of which was the appointment of the Peshwa as his commander-in-chief. The Mahrattas then returned to Poona.

The whole of the reign of Ragunath was signalised by internal contentions and foreign wars. Madhajee took advantage of the first of these to consolidate his power, and to obtain a firm possession of the lands he had by various methods acquired, especially those north of the Nerbudda. He did not come in contact with the new Peshwa after his accession to power in 1773, until the month of May 1774—a period when the power of Ragunath was waning, and when he appeared to be in as great danger from the intrigues of his internal enemies as from the open opposition of Nizam Ali. It formed, however, no part of his plan to countenance or support the pretensions of the Mahomedans of the Dekhan and, accordingly he gave openly on this occasion all his support to the Peshwa; but at the close of the same year, the affairs of Ragunath seemed desperate. As a last resource, he had begun to negotiate with the English through the Resident at Poona. His downfall now appeared certain. To precipitate it, Madhajee Sindia and Tookajee Holkar suddenly declared

against him, and on the 27th November marched to attack, and, if possible, to take him prisoner. Ragunath, however, was apprised of their movements in sufficient time to retreat to Guzerat. Here he concluded a treaty with the English, by which he ceded to that nation Bassein, Salsette and other important districts, in exchange for an agreement to supply him with material aid in men and money. Thenceforth the history of Ragunath is linked with that of the rise of British power in the Western Presidency.

To understand the policy of Madhajee at this and subsequent periods, the reader must bear in mind the circumstances of his position, and the great end to which all his efforts were directed. Madhajee was bent on founding a dynasty—a kingdom, compact and powerful, which should devolve naturally on his successors. To this end all his thoughts, all his energies, all his actions were directed. The Peshwas, the Holkars, the Bhonslas, the Rohillas, the Moguls, the English, were treated by him with friendliness or hostility, solely according to the view he took of their desire and their ability to aid or to threaten him in this great plan. He had no personal animosities—he never indulged in revengeful feelings; everything would be forgotten and forgiven, if he thought the offender were able to be useful to him, even indirectly. Hence it was that he was at one moment on friendly terms with the Peshwa, at another at open war with him. In a word, he marked out a great object to be attained;—he marked the road leading to that object, and no temptation induced him to swerve a hair's breadth from following it. This was the secret of his success. It is a course, in fact, which a man of really lofty feelings could scarcely follow; but it is one, nevertheless, which, with time, with health, and with patience, must invariably lead to worldly success. Fortunate is it for mankind that there is something beyond mere worldly success—something more enduring even than the complete attainment of human ends, to be striven for on this earthly sphere. “Thy success!” writes Carlyle in immortal words, “*If the thing is unjust, thou hast not succeeded.*” \*

No thought of this nature stopped for a single instant the ambitious career of Madhajee. Although Ragunath Rao had been declared Peshwa, and had been generally acknowledged as such, the widow of the murdered Narain Rao had, a few months after her husband's death, given birth to a male

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\* *Sartor Resartus.*

child, and on this infant the hopes of the most powerful of the Mahratta families were concentrated. Prominent amongst those who supported his interest was the famous Nana Furnawees, the ablest of the Mahratta statesmen of the period. Between these families and Ragunath, Madhajeo held at this period an apparently neutral position, being secretly allied with the former, but desirous to instil confidence into the breast of Ragunath until he could break with him with an effect that might be decisive. He had attempted this, as we have seen, in concert with Holkar, in November 1774, but had failed. His failure, however, only caused him to re-assume the mask, and he had assured Ragunath of his friendly intentions. He continued to maintain this doubtful attitude, whilst the negotiations between Ragunath and the Bombay Presidency, and the altercation regarding those negotiations between that Presidency and Warren Hastings, continued : but when, in 1776-77, the cause of Ragunath appeared irretrievably lost, he openly united with Nana Furnawees. Ragunath, with a few followers, threw himself into the arms of the English, who, under the command of Colonel Egerton, shortly succeeded by Colonel Cockburn and Mr. Carnac, were advancing upon Poona. Madhajeo and the Nana thus found themselves in open opposition to the British nation.

Their first experience of this warfare was, strange to record, favourable to the Mahrattas. The slow and ill-concerted measures of the English, caused partly by divided counsels, partly by the natural incapacity of their commanders, gave Madhajeo ample time to assemble a very sufficient force of tried and chosen warriors to oppose them. By a great show of strength and by skilful manœuvres, he so cowed the spirit of the English invaders, that nearly three thousand British troops, aided by a considerable native contingent, not only retreated before some 25,000 Mahrattas, but destroyed their heavy guns and burnt their stores, so as to be able the better to conduct that retreat in silence and in safety. The retreat, however, was quickly discovered, and was followed up with vigour and energy. The English were attacked all the way to Wargaum ; their loss, especially in officers, being particularly heavy. At Wargaum, deeming further retreat impossible, they sued for terms. They were granted but they were of a shameful and humiliating nature. The negotiators not only yielded all the acquisitions ceded by Ragunath, but gave up, in addition, the revenues of other districts ; they agreed to countermand

the advance of other troops from Bengal, and they bestowed upon Madhajee the English share of Baroach, and a present of 41,000 rupees. A more disgraceful treaty was never signed by a British plenipotentiary. Our commanders were spared the further disgrace of giving up their ally, Ragunath, as that chief surrendered privately to Madhajee. From this date—the 14th January 1779—may be reckoned the unquestioned rule of Madho Rao Narain, son of the murdered Narain Rao, as Peshwa.

By the conclusion of the treaty of Wargaum, not less than by the events leading to it, Madhajee obtained an immense accession of power and influence. To his bold and judicious conduct, the success, thus far, of the campaign was attributed by his countrymen. It gave him a *locus standi* in the Mahratta confederacy, such as neither Holkar, nor Nana Furna-wees, nor even the Peshwa could claim. By it the foundations of the house of Sindia were fixed so firmly as to justify all his ambitious expectations, and to make him feel assured of the ultimate result. Thenceforth till his death he occupied, not nominally, but in very deed, the first place among his countrymen.

Meanwhile, the Government of India, directed by the firm hand and iron will of the illustrious Warren Hastings, determined to wipe out, as speedily as possible, the stain inflicted upon the British name by the convention of Wargaum and the events preceding it. A force under Colonel Leslie had been previously despatched to co-operate with the little army, which, under Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn, had been defeated by Madhajee. But Colonel Leslie was as unfit for the task of commanding a force as his Bombay comrade, and frittered away in trifles time which might have been employed with effect. He was consequently speedily replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard. This able officer assumed the command in October 1778, and speedily directed his course to the south-west. It is worthy of remark that, among all the Native States through which he passed, he received real and effectual support only from the little principality of Bhopal, then and ever afterwards the firm ally of the British. On the 30th January he arrived at Burhanpore in the Bombay Presidency, and here he first received contradictory accounts of the events at Wargaum. This made him only push on, and in twenty days he reached Surat, a distance of 300 miles, by this celerity avoiding a body of 20,000 Mahratta horse, sent to intercept him.\* From Surat he hastened to Bombay

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\* Grant Duff.

to concert measures with the Council of that Presidency. At first negotiations were opened with the several Mahratta chiefs. But whilst these were pending there broke out that war with Hyder Ali, which, from the outset to its close, tried to the utmost the resources of the Madras Presidency, and reduced that Government to its greatest straits. Shortly after it had broken out, a correspondence between that famous leader, the Mahrattas and the Subadar, Nizam Ali, was discovered—all pointing to an alliance for the destruction of the British. Upon this, Goddard, then appointed a Brigadier-General and invested with full powers, crossed the Taptee, and invaded the territories of the Peshwa (January 1780).

Meanwhile, Madhaje had been pursuing his ambitious designs. In order to bring into existence a counterpoise, which, though not sufficient to overwhelm himself, might yet prevent too great a development of supreme authority on the part of Nana Furnaweas, he connived at the escape of Ragunath Rao, when on his way to life-imprisonment at Jhansie. At the same time he opened secret negotiations with the English, Hyder Ali and the Subadar, intending naturally to throw in his lot with that party by whom he might conceive his own interests would best be advanced. The hostile movements of Goddard forced him, however, to take a side, and joining with him Tookajee Holkar, he prepared to do battle for his nominal master, Madho Rao Narain, Peshwa.

He still maintained, however, a friendly communication with the English, hoping to keep them inactive till the rains should fall. But he had to deal with a man who was proof against evasions, and who was resolved to bring the question of peace or war to a decisive issue. Madhaje's proposals all tended to the concentration in his own person of the supreme authority at Poona. Goddard, not considering such an arrangement desirable, resolved, if possible, to bring about an action. On the 3rd April, accordingly, he attempted to surprise his enemy's camp near Baroda. But Madhaje, though really surprised, drew off his troops with consummate skill, and suffered little practical loss. A second attempt, made on the 19th of the same month, was even less successful, Madhaje skilfully avoiding an action. By this line of conduct he effectually gained his end—the prolonging of hostilities until after the commencement of the rains. He lost, however, almost immediately afterwards, the fortress of Gwalior, then reputed impregnable, but which succumbed to the skill and daring of Captain Popham in August

of that year.\* Unable to pursue his operations against Sindia in the interior, Goddard transferred his operations to the coast and laid siege to Bassein. On the 10th December he defeated the Mahratta force sent to relieve it, and the place surrendered on the following day. Other operations, with varying fortunes, ensued, no great success, however, being attained, and the army on one occasion, 23rd April 1781, suffering a defeat. These operations gave Madhajee the opportunity he coveted of planting his own power firmly in Central India. General Goddard at last perceived that, by confining his attack upon the Mahratta possessions to those districts furthest from the possessions of Sindia, he was in reality playing the game, of the man, who, whilst he was the mainstay of the Mahratta power in the field, cared nothing regarding the nation at whose expense his own possessions were extended. A resolution was accordingly arrived at to attack Sindia in his own territory.

The attempt was first made by a British force under Lieutenant-Colonel Camac. The operations of Madhajee, on hearing of this movement, stamp him as a military genius of no common order. Learning that Colonel Camac's force was small, he resolved to overwhelm it before it could be reinforced. He hastened at once with a large body of troops in the direction of Seepree, but, too late to save that place, he came up with Camac at Seronje, and surrounded him. The English force was reduced to great straits by famine. Added to this a cannonade of seven days' duration, made considerable havoc in its ranks. Feeling that a further continuance in his position would inevitably lead to his destruction, Camac resolved to retreat, having previously sent to the nearest division of British troops earnest requests for reinforcements. For seventeen days this retreat continued, our troops being followed up and harassed by Madhajee. But on the eighteenth day, the Mahratta chieftain, for the first time in his life, allowed himself to be completely outwitted. As the only means of escape, Colonel Camac, at the dead of night, on the 24th March, attempted to surprise his enemy. His movement was entirely successful. Madhajee was completely defeated, and forced to give up the pursuit. A few days later, Colonel Camac was joined by a

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\* A detailed account of Major Popham's movements, from the pen of the late Major William Stewart, Governor-General's Agent at Benares, appeared in the extinct *Benares Magazine*, about twenty years ago.



force under Colonel Muir. Madhajee, however, with the energy and spirit of a true Mahratta, soon recovered from his mishap; and by his superiority in cavalry he speedily reduced the English force to a state of inactivity. A few months later, Madhajee, perceiving that he had everything to lose from a contest carried on within his own territory, concluded a treaty with Colonel Muir, by which he bound himself to neutrality, agreed to exercise his good offices to bring about a general peace, recovered all his territory except the fortress of Gwalior, and obtained from the English a promise to recross the Jumna. \*

This treaty was concluded just at the right time for the interests of Madhajee. The Government of India was, for many reasons, anxious to conclude the war with the Mahrattas, to prevent it from attaining the proportions of a deadly struggle for existence. The defection of Madhajee from the confederacy was hailed, therefore, by them with the liveliest satisfaction, and prepared them to shew towards that chieftain a consideration such as, under other circumstances, would undoubtedly have been denied him. Nothing could have more advanced the views of Madhajee at this conjuncture than a recognition of him on the part of the English as an independent prince. Besides the great moral advantages flowing from that recognition, it would besides give him that of which he then stood greatly in need; it would give him time; time to consolidate his conquests, to give them a compact form, to give himself an independent footing amongst the several rulers of Hindustan; time, moreover, to watch the opportunity for recovering, free from any interruption on the part of the English, the stolen fortress of Gwalior. That fortress the English had made over, after its capture, to the Rana of Gohud, to be by him held solely on the condition of good behaviour. It required but a little arrangement on the part of Madhajee to bring about the apparent infraction of a condition so easy to set aside.

But before he attempted this, he had been a consenting party to that treaty of Salbye, between the Peshwa and the English, which restored peace to every part of India but the Carnatic. Mr. Hastings was urged to the conclusion of this treaty by the doubtful fortunes of the struggle between Hyder Ali and the coast army, and by the fear lest a man so ambitious as Madhajee might influence the Mahratta nation to cast in its lot with the great adventurer of Mysore. Nana

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\* Grant Duff, to whom we are indebted for these details.

Furnawees was anxious for peace, not less on account of the presence of English troops in the Maliratta territories, than of jealousy of the increasing power of Madhajeel; whilst Madhajeel himself after long hesitation, after coquetting with Hyder Ali, and even obtaining the sanction of the Nana to a plan for the invasion of Bengal, came to the conclusion, for reasons already stated, that peace with the English would, for the moment, best advance his interests. The treaty of Salbye, whereby in addition to the former territories secured to him he obtained the cession of Baroach, promised him after the capitulation of Wargaum, had scarcely been signed, when he realised the wisdom of the course he had followed. The signature took place on the 17th May 1782: the treaty was ratified on the 6th June following, and was exchanged with the Peshwa on the 24th February 1783. In the interval between the first signature and the final exchange, events had occurred at Delhi which opened out to Madhajeel Sindia a prospect, the realisation of which had ever been one of his fondest hopes, and had, nearly twenty years earlier, led to the campaign which ended the fatal field of Paniput.

Ever since the retreat of the Mahrattas to their own country in 1773, the imperial Government had been carried on under the auspices of Mirza Nujjuf Khan, the leader of the anti-Rohilla party in the State. His rule had, on the whole, been vigorous and successful. He had made the voice of the descendant of Timour once more respected at home and abroad, and under his energetic sway the empire seemed likely to attain a position such as it had not occupied since the death of Aurungzebe. But on the 22nd April 1782, Nujjuf Khan died. His death was the signal for anarchy and intrigue, for divided factions and contending rivals. This was the opportunity for which Madhajeel had been longing. It seemed to him that the occupation of imperial Delhi, with the connivance of the English, opened out to him better prospects than an alliance with Hyder Ali, for the destruction of that nation. And when, towards the close of 1782, he received from Warren Hastings an assurance that the English would not interfere with his plans on Delhi, he made up his mind, and at once put in action the means he had so plentifully at his command.

Whilst these intrigues were pending, he made himself, in the first instance, secure in his own acknowledged dominions. To protect them the more effectually, he contrived a quarrel with the Rana of Gohud, and forced him to surrender Gwalior, the English, occupied after the death of Hyder with his son Tippoo,

not caring to interfere. Everything having been placed upon a footing of order in his own territory, he caused himself, by means of his intrigues with one of the contending factions at Delhi, to be invited to that city in the name of the Emperor. The timely assassination of one of the leaders of the contending factions made Madhajee arbiter of the situation. Meeting the imperial court near Agra, he accompanied it to Delhi, where, refusing for himself and for the Peshwa the office highest in name and in repute—that of Ameer ul Amrah, or prime minister—he accepted for the Peshwa that of Vicegerent of the empire, and for himself that of Deputy to the Peshwa; thus, at the same time, acknowledging his fealty to the chief of the Mahrattas, whilst retaining in his own hands alike the power and the right to exercise it. From this period till the defeat of the armies of Doulut Rao Sindia, by Lord Lake in 1802, the imperial districts of northern India were, some brief intervals alone excepted, administered and governed by the Mahrattas, acting in the name of the imprisoned Emperor.

For the five years following Madhajee's assumption of power at Delhi, he was engaged in a continued struggle to maintain it. It was scarcely to be supposed that the Mahomedan factions would acquiesce tamely in his elevation. The country, moreover, was exhausted, and the necessity for raising a certain amount from its inhabitants did not increase his popularity. The Rajpoots, the Jâts, the Sikhs, and some of his own followers, too, disputed his supremacy. Yet Madhajee was resolved not lightly to resign the imperial power. He enlisted two battalions of regular infantry under a foreign adventurer, named De Boigne, and as opportunity offered, he largely increased this force and added greatly to its efficiency.\* He improved like-

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\* Grant Duff, quoting from General Palmer's despatches, thus notes the growth of De Boigne's two battalions:—"The most important of all the changes introduced by Sindia was the well organised regular force, which he, about this time, raised, by augmenting the two battalions of De Boigne into a brigade, which was subsequently, at different periods, increased to three brigades. A brigade consisted of eight battalions, of seven hundred men each. Attached to every brigade there were 500 horse; and to each battalion five pieces of artillery—two six-pounders, two three-pounders, and a howitzer. To provide for the regular payment of these troops, he made over assignments of land to the charge and management of De Boigne; to whom he allowed two per cent. upon the net revenue, independent of his regular pay, which was Rs. 10,000 a month. A select body of irregular infantry was attached to De Boigne's force. . . . The augmentation of De Boigne's army was gradual, as was his train of artillery, which consisted at last of upwards of

wise the irregular troops, enlisting amongst them not only Rajpoots, but Mahomedans, and organising them on the basis of a disciplined force. His own energy and force of character not only inspired his men, but supplied even the losses occasioned by the treachery and misconduct of some of his adherents. Thus, after the battle of Jeypore, lost by the desertion of his regular infantry, Madhajee lost not a moment in securing his strong places, and, effecting a junction with a considerable force of Jâts, sent a fresh army into the field under Rana Khan and De Boigne. Though this army was defeated near Agra on the 24th April 1788, Sindia so far rallied it as to meet the enemy, and completely beat them on the 18th June following. The Moguls under the ferocious Ghulam Kadir committed after this event those terrible atrocities upon the unhappy descendant of Timour and his family, as well as upon the inhabitants of Delhi, which have made his name for ever infamous in history. His triumph was short-lived. On the 11th October, Delhi was occupied by Rana Khan and De Boigne, and a few days later Madhajee himself seated the blinded Shah Alum on his recovered throne. His power and authority were subsequently confirmed and consolidated by a great victory obtained by his army on the 25th June 1790 over Ismael Beg, the last remaining Mahomedan noble possessing sufficient power and influence to interfere with his ambitious views. A second victory over Ismael Beg's allies, the Rajpoots, was gained on the 12th September in the following year, and Madhajee, sensible of the expediency of conciliating rather than driving to extremity that warlike people, granted them peace on easy terms.

In the first war with Tippoo, 1790-92, Madhajee took no part. He was strongly of opinion that complete victory in such a contest would only be advantageous to the English, from whom a violent and persistent enemy would thus be removed, whilst the maintenance of Tippoo at Mysore was by no means inconsistent with Mahratta interests. He condemned, therefore, strongly the conduct of Nana Furnawees in aiding the British on such an occasion. He continued, then and subsequently, to consolidate his own authority in Hindustan, to meet the open efforts of Tookajee Holkar and the secret efforts of Nana Furnawees to overthrow him, and to prepare against any attack from the North-West, constantly threatened as it was, by

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"200 pieces of artillery, of different calibres. . . . . His officers were Europeans of all nations; many of them British, and men very respectable, by birth, education, and character."

the grandson of the Abdallee. He found, however, in the course of time, that, having placed his dominions in Hindustan on a footing of tolerable security, the best, and indeed the only efficacious mode of thwarting his Mahratta rivals, was to proceed direct to Poona. Could he become the minister of the Peshwa as well as the holder of the power of the Mogul, 'what a *vista* would open to him? He would then wield a power such as neither Aurungzebe nor Sivajee with all their efforts had ever attained. To unseat Nana Furnaweess, always plotting against him, and to occupy his place, became then the fixed and settled purpose of his mind. For no lighter purpose would he have left his territories in Hindustan and Central India, the seat of his real power. But the end he proposed to himself was so vast, so full of promise, so magnificent, that it seemed to him worth while to encounter even a dangerous risk. He set out for Poona, and marching slowly, ready at any moment to retrace his steps, he reached that city on the 11th June 1793.

There was naturally an ostensible reason for his journey. He was to invest the Peshwa with the *insignia* of the office of Vicegerent of the Mogul Empire, conferred upon him by the Emperor. This he did, despite the secret opposition of Nana Furnaweess, with great pomp and ceremony.\* His secret object, however, was to gain the young Peshwa, Madho Rao Narain. This, too, despite of the opposition, open as well as secret, he would, had he lived, undoubtedly have accomplished. Everything seemed to favour his purpose. Whilst at Poona he received intelligence of the complete defeat of the fast adherent and supporter of Nana Furnaweess, Tookajee Holkar,—a defeat by which the army of that rival chieftain was almost entirely destroyed; he learned too of the capture of Ismael Beg, his sole Mahomedan adversary. He found, in fact, that he wielded, unchecked, the whole power of Northern and Western, and a great part of Central Hindustan. The spirit of the young Peshwa, too, chafing long under

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\* Sir John Malcolm informs us that when he came to Poona, Madhaje dismounted from his elephant at the gates of the city; placed himself in the great hall of audience below all the hereditary nobles of the State; and when the Peshwa came into the room and desired him to be seated with others he objected on the ground of being unworthy of the honor, and untying a bundle that he carried under his arm produced a pair of slippers, which he placed before Madho Rao, saying: "This is my occupation; it was that of my father." Madhaje, at the moment he said this, took the old slippers the Peshwa had in use, and wrapping them up carefully, continued to hold them under his arm; after which, though "with apparent reluctance, he allowed himself to be prevailed upon to sit down."

the austere guardianship of the Nana, inclined, more and more every day, to the genial warrior who encouraged him in his aspirations after the sports of the field and the pleasures of the chase. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his prime minister, the youthful Peshwa would, there is every reason to believe, have been gained over, and Madhajee would have attained a position never before approached by any Mahratta, when he was attacked by fever and died. His death took place on the 12th February 1794, in the vicinity of Poona. He had no children, nor had he made any adoption. He had, however, expressed a wish that his grand-nephew, Dowlut Rao, grandson of his illegitimate brother, Tookajee, might succeed to his possessions, and this wish, after some opposition on the part of his widow, was carried into effect.

The sketch we have given of the career of the real founder of the house of Sindia is but a bare and meagre outline. To fill it up as it should be filled up would be an interesting task, but it would require much labour and many articles. Rather than submit to the delay which the preparation for such labour would necessarily involve, rather, in fact, than indefinitely postpone all notice of the most illustrious of the Mahratta chieftains, we have deemed it advisable to be content, in the first instance, with the outline alone. We have been the more inclined to this course, because we are certain that none but students of Indian history have any but the most cursory knowledge of Madhajee, and because we believe, therefore, that the publication of this brief notice will draw attention to a subject regarding which little is generally known. When we call to mind the position of the present representative of the house of Sindia, his high character amongst Asiatic rulers, the transcendent services rendered by him during the mutiny; when we reflect that he, the most powerful representative of the Mahratta warriors, was faithful among the faithless,—that, possessing the power greatly to annoy us, he incurred risk and danger of no common character to befriend and to assist us, there are few thoughtful men who will not care to know something of the founder of the family, something of the man, the rise of whose power was synchronous with that of our own. In the modern and more true acceptation of the term, Madhajee Sindia may not be considered entitled to a niche among the statues of really great men. But compare him with his Asiatic contemporaries, and he towers above them all. He was a greater warrior, a

greater statesman, far more generous and liberal, than Hyder Ali of Mysore ; he had none of the cruelty or the habitual and senseless perfidy of Nizam Ali of Hyderabad ; amongst the Mahrattas not a single man approached him : he was infinitely more far-sighted than them all. Alone amongst his countrymen of that day he foresaw the necessities of the English position, the life-struggle that must ensue between them and the native princes. Whilst, in the first Mahratta war, he had displayed no mean qualities as a general, his experience of the English had convinced him that to beat them it was necessary to concentrate against them all the resources of Hindustan. Bearing this in mind, he refused to aid them in their contests with other native princes, however little sympathy he may have felt for the latter ; for he well knew that each such single contest would make it more difficult for the remaining independent princes to ward off the inevitable blow. At one time of his life he seriously contemplated the formation of a general alliance with Hyder and Nizam Ali against the English ; and it is evident that he was diverted from this solely by a sense of the insecurity of his own position, and by the necessity under which he lay, in the first instance, to consolidate his power. After his experience of the first Mahratta war, he carefully avoided any premature or single contest with our countrymen. When his power had been consolidated in Hindustan, he still felt the uselessness of embarking in a life-struggle, so long as he had the doubtful support of the Peshwa, and the open opposition of his minister and feudatories. To prevent that—to secure unity of action in the North-East and the West—he made that journey to Poona, which ended, at the moment of its brightest promise, in his death. There is no room to doubt but that the great object of his latter life was to bring about a general league against the English, before the power of the latter should be too firmly consolidated. Looking at this policy by the light of later events, who will say that, in a Mahratta point of view, it was unsound or unwise ?

In other respects, Madhaje Sindia was at least on a par with the best of his contemporaries. He could read and write well, was a practised accountant, and well-versed in revenue matters. He was generous, liberal, and just. His habits and tastes were simple. He had no great vices ; and if he was apt to give way to passion, it was a fault which he must share with most men to whom the benefits of Christian training have never been extended, with some likewise to whom the opportunity of profiting from the great lessons inculcated by the Gospel has been more liberally vouchsafed.

#### ART. IV.—BRITISH BURMAH.

**A**N Empire which seventy years ago laid claim to Chittagong, Dacca, Luckipore and Cossim Bazar on the west ; which two hundred and fifty years ago permitted the English and Portuguese to establish factories on the borders of China on the East ; which held sway over the Mo-goung Shans in lat.  $25^{\circ}$  North and verged upon the Malayan Peninsula in lat.  $10^{\circ}$  North, was surely one of the great kingdoms of the earth. And such was once the Empire of Ava. Its claims to the above-mentioned rich Provinces of Bengal have never been considered deserving of examination. Dr. Bayfield, who records the demand in his "Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava from the earliest date on record," seems to think any comment on these pretensions, beyond three notes of astonishment which he affixes, entirely unnecessary. But it is undoubtedly true that part at least of these Provinces once belonged to Arakan. We read in authentic records\* that "the Arakan Kings in former times had possessions all along the coast as far as Chittagong and Dacca," and that "coins are still extant struck by the Viceroys at Chittagong, with Bengali and Persian characters on one side, and Burmese on the reverse." Sir Arthur Phayre, when Deputy Commissioner of the Akyab District in 1841, estimated the foreign or *Kula* inhabitants of the District at 15 per cent. of the whole population. These people are the descendants of captives from Bengal who were brought into the country as slaves, and are now known as Arakanese Mahomedans. And Dr. Marshman's "History of Bengal" informs us that a King of Arakan joined with some Portuguese adventurers in invading Bengal in 1610, "when they took Bhulloah and Luckipore." But it must be remembered that at this time Arakan was not Ava. And in 1666 the Arakanese lost Chittagong after a defeat on the banks of the Fenny at the hands of the Soobadar of Bengal ; so that Dr. Bayfield's three notes of surprise appear to be justifiable.

Arakan itself became a Province of the Empire of Ava in 1784. It too had once been a great kingdom, probably

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\* Sir Arthur Phayre.



the most powerful on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. We have no complete history of the country, but Marshman is probably right in suggesting that materials for a very interesting history relating to the period are to be found among the archives of the Portuguese, and probably other European nations. Colonel Phayre's paper on the early history of Arakan, published in the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, No. CXLV of 1844, though brief, is an exceedingly interesting and valuable contribution.

Including Arakan, the Empire of Ava, as it stood in 1784, occupies a very large space in Captain Boileau Pemberton's great Map dated 1838. It is not to be supposed, however, that this vast tract, comprising so many different countries and races of people, was always a coherent Empire. The great Talaing Kingdom of Pegu was often in rebellion, and at times victorious over Ava. After various vicissitudes between 1613 and 1740 it regained its independence after a subjection of thirty-seven consecutive years. But the triumph of the Talaings, or Peguans, was for a short time only. The country was finally subjugated by Aloung Paya (*Anglicé* Alompra) in 1757, and this great king subsequently conquered Tavoy and Mergui—for even here we read of independent sovereigns—and carried Burmese troops into the interior of Siam. We have it on record that he addressed a letter to the King of England, which was written on gold studded with rubies. From him an English Envoy, Lister, then only an Ensign in the army, and deputed by a Lieutenant Newton, obtained a treaty signed by himself, granting the Island of Negrais at the mouth of the Bassein River in perpetuity, with ground for a factory at Bassein and freedom of trade. For this we (that is, the Honourable Company) engaged to pay him a tribute of certain muniments of war, and agreed to a particular clause, specifying that we should aid him against the King of Tavoy, or, more strictly speaking, should not assist that monarch.

One authority says that this treaty was ignored. Another, and apparently a better-informed authority, states that its provisions were not observed, and that it was rumoured that Aloung Paya was ignorant of its import. This was rather hard upon Mr. Lister, as we read that, notwithstanding the king's promise, he discovered that nothing could be obtained without a bribe, and the Prince of Bassein and his vassal, Anthorny, refused to get the king's signature to the treaty, until Mr. Lister gave the bond of the Honourable Company for 30 viss of silver, (about Rupees 3,500): and at his audience with the king he left his shoes and sword outside, and upon entering the

presence knelt down and *shikhoed* three times. To kneel down and *shikho* is to perform an act of bodily prostration as reverent and almost the same as the prostration of the Mahomedan at his prayers. The king's return present of 24 ears of Indian corn, 18 oranges and 5 cucumbers, did not evince a very high appreciation of this envoy.

It was a son but not the rightful heir of Aloung Paya, who, drowning the crowned king, his nephew, in the Irrawaddy, the last resting place of many a Burman Prince, became king himself in 1781, and conquered Arakan in 1784. And it was at this time that we find the Empire of Ava occupying the large space on the earth's surface which we have described at the commencement of this paper.

So for about forty years it continued, when what is called the first Burmese war ended in the cession to us of Arakan and Tenasserim, followed, about twenty-six years afterwards, by the annexation by Lord Dalhousie, during the second Burmese war, of the noble Province of Pegu: this territory comprising not only old Pegu, but the Districts of Toungoo and Martaban, (now called Shwegyin), with the more strictly Peguan Districts of Prome, Henzada, Tharawady, Bassein and Rangoon. Some, if not all, of these had their kings in their day, but kings were once more common everywhere than they are now.

Much useful and interesting historical information regarding the Burman and Talaing kingdoms is to be found in a remarkable compilation, which may almost be called a Cyclopædia, by Dr. Mason, an American Missionary, resident in the country. Its title is "Burmah; its people and natural productions; or notes on the nations, fauna, flora, and minerals of "Tenasserim, Pegu and Burmah, with systematic catalogues of "the known mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, mollusks, "crustaceans, annalids, radiates, plants and minerals, with "vernacular names." It is hardly necessary to draw attention to Colonel Yule's book,—the best work on Burmah extant.

There is every reason for believing that two hundred and fifty years ago there was a good deal of friendly intercourse between the British and the Burmans. Dr. Mason says (speaking of about 1619):—"The history at this period is very obscure, but it would appear that soon after the time mentioned, "British intercourse with the Burman countries became more "free than it ever was again up to the annexation of Pegu. "Dalrymple ascertained from old documents at Fort St. "George, that the English had settlements at Prome and Ava

“ as well as at Syriam, and even at a place on the borders of  
“ China, which he conjectures to have been Bhamo. The Dutch,  
“ who had a considerable trade with Burmah, likewise possessed  
“ factories in the Upper Provinces, and are said to have been  
“ at this time in occupation of Negrals.”

This information is to be found in Pemberton.\* And this author informs us that the Portuguese had been in the country since 1540, if not before, and in the beginning of the 17th century were in considerable force at Syriam, under the celebrated Philip de Brito and Nicote, who was even proclaimed King of Pegu. He adds: “ His conduct, however, in attacking Toungoo, and  
“ carrying off the king of that country, a chief styled in Burmese  
“ history Kula-ya-men, or the king who was obtained or seized  
“ by foreigners, provoked the King of Ava, Maha Dhuma  
“ Rajah, who besieged and destroyed Syriam, and impaled  
“ De Brito on an eminence above the Fort. The Burmese  
“ Monarch removed many of the Portuguese and their descen-  
“ dants from Syriam to the vicinity of Ava, where some traces  
“ of them exist to this day in a race of people with light-  
“ coloured hair and eyes.” Major Burney, who was appointed British Resident at the Court of Ava in 1829, has left in his journals a large store of historical and other information, from which subsequent writers have freely drawn, and Mr. Crawford’s writings are also valuable and comprehensive.

From such sources we learn how the Court of Ava treated and fought with Siam and China: how it subdued and ravaged Pegu, Tavoy, Mergui, and Arakan: and how about six hundred years ago ten Chinese envoys, nobles, with 1,000 horsemen, their suite, were put to death for disrespectful manners in the royal presence.

The following passage, which is taken from Burney, narrates the sequel of this story. It is given here, because it is a highly characteristic passage of Burmese history. It gives some notion of the Buddhistic faith of the people, of their romantic belief in spirits or fairies, and their magnificent estimate of Burmese regal power and wealth. It reads very like a story from the “ Arabian Nights,” and this must be our apology for extracting it at length.

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\* Report on the Eastern Frontier. Calcutta, 1835. Or rather, Dr. Bayfield gives us the information in his Supplement to Pemberton’s work, being a Historical Review of our relations with Burmah, compiled by Dr. Bayfield and revised by Major Burney.

"When the Emperor of China received intelligence of the execution of his envoys, he was exceedingly angry, and collecting an army of at least six millions of horse, and twenty millions of foot, sent them down to attack Pagan; the king of which, Naratheeapadi, as soon as he heard of the coming of this force, placed under the generals Nanda-peeetzeen and Yanda-peeetzeen 400,000 soldiers, and numerous elephants and horses, with orders to proceed and attack the Chinese army. The two generals marched to the city of Ngayounggyan, and, after putting its walls, moat, and fortifications in a proper state of defence, opposed the Chinese army at the foot of Bamau river, killing during three months so many of their army, that not a grass-cutter even for its elephants and horses remained. The Emperor of China, however, kept reinforcing his army, and replacing those who were killed by sending 200,000 men when he heard of the loss of 100,000 men, and 400,000 when he heard of 200,000. Hence the Burman Army was at last overpowered with fatigue, and the Chinese crossed the river and destroyed Ngayounggyan.

"As the nats or spirits attached to either nation were fighting together in the air, four of the Pagan nats, namely, Tebathen, guardian of one of the gates of Pagan City, Tsalenwotthaken-young nat, Kanshyeyoung nat, guardian of the long lake or tank, and Tounggyeyen nat, lord of the foot of the mountain, were wounded by arrows. In the new Yazawen, Tebathen nat is styled Thanbethen. On the very day on which the stockade of Ngayounggyan was taken, the nat Tebathen returned to Pagan, and entered the house of the king's teacher, on whom he had always been accustomed to wait. The king's teacher was asleep at the time; but the nat awakened him, and said, 'Ngayounggyan has been destroyed this day. I am wounded by an arrow, and the nats Tsalenwotthaken, Kanshye and Tounggyeyen are also wounded in the same manner.' The priest and king's teacher called one of his disciples, a young probationer, and sent him to the King to report the loss of Ngayounggyan. His Majesty inquired how this circumstance was known, when the young probationer declared that the nat Tebathen, guardian of the Tharabha Gate, had just arrived from Ngayounggyan, and reported the matter to the king's teacher, who had thus learned that that place had been destroyed on that very day. The King then summoned a council of his ministers and officers, and addressed them as follows:—'The walls of the city

“ ‘of Pagan are low, and enclose too small a space to permit all  
“ ‘the soldiers, elephants and horses to remain comfortably  
“ ‘within, and defend them. I propose, therefore, to build a  
“ ‘strong wall, extending from the eastward, from the village  
“ ‘of Balen in the upper part of the river straight down to the  
“ ‘southward, taking in the village Yonatha. But it is not  
“ ‘possible just now to procure bricks and stones quickly; if we  
“ ‘break down some of the temples and use the bricks, we shall  
“ ‘be able to complete this wall most expeditiously’. Accordingly  
“ ‘1,000 large arched temples, 1,000 smaller ones, and 4,000  
“ ‘square temples were destroyed. During this operation, a sheet  
“ ‘of copper, with a royal prediction inscribed on it, was found  
“ ‘in one of the temples. The words were, ‘In the city  
“ ‘of Pagan, in the time of the father of twins, the Chinese  
“ ‘destroying will be destroyed.’ The king thereupon made  
“ ‘enquiries among the royal women, and learnt that a young  
“ ‘concubine had just given birth to twins.

“ ‘As his Majesty now believed that even if he built the  
“ ‘intended fortification, he would be unable to defend it, he  
“ ‘caused 1,000 boats with figure-heads and warboats to be  
“ ‘made ready, and embarked in them all his gold and silver  
“ ‘and treasures; a thousand cargo-boats also he loaded with  
“ ‘paddy and rice; in a thousand state boats he embarked  
“ ‘all his ministers and officers, and in the gilded state  
“ ‘boats, his concubines and female attendants. But as the  
“ ‘boats could not accommodate all the royal concubines and  
“ ‘female attendants, who were very numerous, the King said,  
“ ‘These women and servants are too numerous to be all  
“ ‘embarked in the boats, and if we leave them here, the Chinese  
“ ‘will seize and take possession of them; tie their hands and  
“ ‘feet together, therefore, and throw them into the river.’ The  
“ ‘King’s teacher, however, observed: ‘In the whole circle of  
“ ‘animal existence, the state of man is the most difficult of  
“ ‘attainment, and to attain that state during the time of a  
“ ‘Buddha, is also most difficult. There can be no occasion for  
“ ‘your Majesty to commit the evil deed of throwing these  
“ ‘people into the water. Such an act will be for ever talked  
“ ‘of even among kings, and will be registered in the records of  
“ ‘the Empire. Let your Majesty, therefore, grant permission  
“ ‘for any person to take such of the royal female attendants  
“ ‘as cannot be embarked in the royal boats, and by so doing,  
“ ‘your Majesty will be said not only to have granted them  
“ ‘their lives, but to have afforded them protection. The King

"replied, 'Very true,' and set at liberty 300 of the female servants of the interior of the palace, who were taken and carried away by different inhabitants of the city.

"The King then embarked in his gilded accommodation boat, and retired to the Talaing city of Bathein, (Bassein). Nanda-peatzeen, and Yanda-peatzeen, after the loss of Nga-younggyan, retreated and built a couple of stockades on the eastward slope of the male mountain, where they again resisted the Chinese. Both the Generals, holding some fixed \* quicksilver in their mouths, leaped 15 and 16 cubits high in the air at a time and attacked the Chinese. But whilst fighting in this manner, an arrow, which had been discharged by one of the nats of the two countries, who were contending in the air, struck Nanda-peatzeen, and threw him lifeless to the ground. In consequence of this event, and the Chinese army being very numerous, victory was unattainable, and defeat again ensued. The Chinese pursued vigorously, and the Pagan generals retreated, keeping their force as much together as possible. On arriving at Pagan, and finding that the king and the whole of the population had left that city and had fled to the Talaing country, the army followed them to Bathein. The Chinese continued the pursuit until they reached Taroupmau, but their army, owing to the great distance which it had marched and its great numbers, began to experience a scarcity of provisions, and was induced to turn back from that place.

"In the Burmese year 646 (A. D. 1284) the King Nara-theehapadi fled in fear of the Chinese. Hence he is styled *Furouppiyemen*, the king who fled from the Chinese.

"After remaining five months at Bassein, the king hearing that the Chinese had retreated from Pagan, made arrangements for returning thither. On his way up the river, it is recorded that, on one occasion, his cooks having been able to serve him up a dinner of only 150 dishes, instead of the 300 to which he had always sat down every day, he covered his face with his hands and wept, saying, 'I am become a poor man'. Shortly after, on his arrival off Prome, he was poisoned by his own son, the Governor of that place."

It is a problem which has not yet been satisfactorily solved, whether Burmah has ever been in former ages, or even two or

\* Burmese alchemists value fixed or dead quicksilver very highly for its supposed miraculous powers.

three centuries back, a populous country. It is not so now. The best authorities are disposed to estimate the whole Burman people, including of course the cognate Arakanese, Talaings, and even Karens, at about six millions.

If numerous remains of old cities, large and small, walled enclosures all over the country, and the ruins of religious buildings in extraordinary numbers in many places are evidence to the point, and if the traditions of the people in many parts of the country are to be believed, Burmah was once a populous country. Not that it was ever so densely populated as the North-West Provinces or Belgium, nor that there were large cities such as the European is accustomed to: but frequent and most bloody wars, with the famines consequent upon them, and the lawless state of society which accompanied war in those days in these parts of the world, doubtless from time to time carried off large numbers of the people, and especially of the men: the question is, whether these causes were not sufficient to keep the population uniformly low.

Such statements as the following taken from Burmese and Siamese history must be received with some allowance for exaggeration. We are informed that about A.D. 1555 the King of Pegu was at war with Siam, accompanied by an army of a million of men: and Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, who was in Pegu in A. D. 1569, writes: "We found in the city of Martaban ninety Portugal merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Governor of the city. The King of Pegu had gone with a million and four hundred thousand men to conquer the Kingdom of Siam." He adds: "Also he (this King of Pegu) had great ordnance made of very good metal.\* To conclude there is not a king on the earth that has more power than the King of Pegu, because he has twenty-five crowned heads at his command: he can make up in his camp a million and a half of men of war against his enemies."

Mr. Ralph Fytche, who is said to have been the first Englishman who visited the country, gives an account of the trade and wealth of various parts of it at the end of the sixteenth century, from which General Fytche says: "We may conclude that the trade and industry of Pegu retrograded during the long

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\* This is a very surprising fact, seeing that in the war of 1852 with the British, the Burmans were very badly off for guns, and occasionally made use of wooden guns, small hollowed trees throwing miserable little lumps of lead as shot.

“period of two hundred and sixty years, which intervened between his visit in 1586, and our conquest of Pegu from the Burmans in 1852; and this is quite consistent with the history of that period, which is filled up with accounts of frightful scenes of bloodshed and rapine.”

The above, of course, relates only to Talaing or Pegu history; but of Upper Burmah, Burmah Proper as it is sometimes called, we have precisely similar historical accounts of wealth, power and population. Witness the extract we have given from an account of a war with China, when the king of that country sent an army of at least six millions of horse and twenty millions of foot to attack the Burman Capital of Pagan.

The general conclusion we may come to is, that all Burmah, Upper and Lower, was once much more densely populated than it is now. And if in addition we take into consideration its thousand miles of sea coast, its ports of Akyab, Bassein, Rangoon and Moulmein, its great variety of aspect, its fine mountain ranges alternating with rich alluvial plains, its numerous rivers, the extraordinary facilities of its internal water-communications, its rich fresh-water fisheries, its varied and valuable products, mineral and vegetable, and its noble races of people, we must admit that Burmah enjoyed a sum of natural advantages, such as few other countries could boast of. Even the present kingdom of Burmah is a grand tract of country, possessing great resources. Although it has lost the finest of its people, its sea-coast, its ports and its great alluvial plains, it is still a magnificent kingdom; it still possesses much rich land of various soils, it has mountain tracts, with climate and capabilities equal to many of the best parts of Europe, it is rich in minerals, and it is traversed throughout its length by the great Irrawaddy.

It is not our object in the present paper to attempt any historical account of Burmah, or to discuss the political relations which exists between Imperial Burmah and the British Government. It is very much the fashion now-a-days to introduce the King of Burmah and his affairs into every discussion connected with the country. From a commercial point of view it is hardly possible to be interesting or important, if we do not dwell upon the great and all-absorbing question of the value of the king's dominions and the advisability of annexing them. Reports of our progress and prospects lose nearly all their value, and are very far from satisfying the highly stimulated palate of the British commercial mind, if they are not seasoned with the strong and piquant condiment of imminently impending



annexation, the opening up of the avenues of trade into Upper Burmah by its amalgamation with our possessions, and the obliteration of any such miserable bar to progress as an independent kingdom and a royal dynasty. With such political views we have no particular sympathy, and fortunately there is no occasion for introducing them here. The words of one of the greatest friends of the early part of the present generation are familiar to us all: "The word *politics*, sir, comprises in itself a difficult study of no inconsiderable magnitude." And those of Burmah are certainly not more inviting or less intricate than politics generally are. They will, therefore, not be referred to more than may be absolutely necessary.

It is perhaps not inappropriate to remark here, that a few years ago he would have been a bold man who would have ventured to invite the attention of the public, either in India or England, to information regarding British Burmah. Of all our great Indian Provinces, it has always been the least known, and almost always the least cared for. Recent writings, commercial and literary, and discussions in England rather than in India, have at length attracted some share of public attention to what may be regarded as a discovery, namely, the importance of British Burmah. It is not too much to say that a very few years ago there were not many persons who knew anything about this outlandish region, and even Indian statesmen had not discovered its importance, or would not acknowledge it: nor are we sure that they have done so yet.

For a long time all that was heard of it in England was in connection with one Sprye, whose lucubrations appeared to have no interest for any body politic or corporate, except the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce; and it was not every great official who had a part in the counsels of the Government of India who knew towns on the great Irrawaddy from islands on the sea-shore. No great official from India ever came to take office in the country, and only two or three had been promoted from it to office elsewhere. Kaye calls it the grave of oriental reputations; and other historians have written of our empire in the East without even noticing it. Now-a-days, however, many Chambers of Commerce evince an interest in this country and some knowledge of it. It may be questioned indeed, whether Burmah is not more interesting to the commercial community of Great Britain, than even the Punjab with all its reports?

In India a different view appears still to prevail. And we must admit that there are some grounds for regarding Burmah as insignificant in importance compared with other Provinces. First, the population of Burmah is small: many an Indian Collector points to the million souls of his District, and his forty lakhs of revenue, as proof that his charge is very nearly as important as the whole of the Pegu Division. Then what is to be said of a Burmah District with only fifty thousand inhabitants and a lakh or so of revenue? Again, the area of cultivation is small, only about three thousand square miles being cultivated out of 90,000 square miles, or not more than one-thirtieth of the whole. And highly as the people are taxed, thriving under a revenue demand, as the Chief Commissioner informs us, of nearly nine shillings a head, the whole revenue is still not much above a million sterling, and the Province has so far no ground for claiming a prominent position. And, lastly, we may add that being not only a Non-Regulation Province, but one hitherto administered entirely by Military Officers and Uncovenanted Servants, among whom no great writer has arisen, it has not enjoyed the aristocratic position, which, in the political as well as in the social world, commands attention, and perhaps favor. But a Province where the population has increased from less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions to nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions between 1857 and 1867, or above 61 per cent. in ten years; in which the revenue nearly doubled itself in the ten years between 1855 and 1865, the value of whose import trade has risen from little more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions to nearly 5 millions in the same period, and the exports from about £2,300,000 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions, is a Province of such promise that even the great Punjab can no longer altogether overshadow it.

Considering that British Burmah is still in its infancy as one Province; that in 1854-55 its total revenue was only £530,000; the following facts taken from General Fytche's Administration Report for last year (1867-68), will bear comparison triumphantly with the returns for any other province of the Empire:—

"The demand on account of Imperial revenue for 1867-68 was Rs. 1,06,34,613, or £1,063,461, and the demand on account of local taxes, Rs. 9,04,360 or £90,436, making altogether a total of Rs. 1,15,38,974 or £1,153,897, which gives an average of Rs. 4·82, or eight shillings, nine pence, three farthings per head of the free population, exclusive of the soldiers."

The following Statement shows the progress of the Province in some of the most important particulars, and also in Imperial Revenue, in 1867, as compared with 1855.

YEARS.	Total area cultivated, including hill cultivation at 1 Rupee to 1 acre.	Total Land Revenue.	Capitation Tax.	Customs, including fines, confiscations, &c.	Fisheries.	Licenses.	All other items of Imperial Revenue.	Grand total of Imperial Revenue.	Value of Exports and Imports.	Tonnage of vessels.
1855	Acres. 1,140,849	£. 109,401	£. 116,242	£. 82,246	£. 29,791	£. 39,165	£. 64,944	£. 531,792	£. 4,946,408	409,152
1867	1,956,638	308,771	207,666	201,265	53,902	93,000	198,855	1,068,460	9,950,987	576,013
Increase in 12 years	815,789	109,379	91,424	119,019	24,111	53,835	133,911	531,668	5,004,579	166,861
Rate per cent. of increase	71.5	54.8	78.6	144.7	80.9	137.4	206.1	99.9	101.1	40.7

*The Revenue for the past three years is as follows:—*

CLASSIFICATION.	1865-66.		1866-67.		1867-68.	
Imperial .....	Rs. 1,00,15,298	£. 1,001,529	Rs. 91,87,715	£. 918,771	Rs. 1,06,34,613	£. 1,068,461
Local .....	8,97,581	89,758	8,80,223	88,022	9,04,361	90,436
Total .....	1,09,12,879	1,091,287	1,00,87,938	1,006,793	1,15,38,974	1,163,897

And in another place he says:—

"The total of the export trade by sea and land was in round numbers four hundred and seventy-six lakhs, or £4,760,000, while the value of the imports was nearly five crores and twenty lakhs, or £ 5,200,000." The aggregate of the trade thus amounted to ten millions sterling. And, "as 1866-67 only "consisted of eleven months, to arrive at a fair comparison "of the out-turn for the year, that for the three previous "years will be shown. The result is as follows in pounds "sterling:—

Years.	Exports.	Imports	Total.	Customs Duty.
	£	£.	£	£.
1864-65.	5,544,762	4,796,971	10,341,733	203,865
1865-66.	5,568,385	5,176,945	10,745,331	189,533
1866-67	3,942,788	3,956,667	7,899,455	118,941
1867-68.	4,759,635	5,191,352	9,950,987	199,173
Total ...	19,815,570	19,121,935	38,937,506	711,515

"Taking the Rupee at two shillings, the value of the trade "in 1867-68 was £9,950,987; in 1857-58 it was £5,522,212, "being an increase of over 80 per cent. in ten years; the aboli- "tion, however, of all our frontier duties took place in the "interim, which stimulated the trade with Burmah."

Well may the Chief Commissioner say as he does in his Admin- stration Report:—

"On the whole the financial state of the Province for the 'year under review is satisfactory. In receipts the increments 'have been chiefly under Customs, Abkaree, License Tax 'and Forests; while under disbursements the increment has 'arisen mainly from the Commission having been placed on 'an improved footing, the embassy to Mandalay, the expedi- 'tion to Bhamo, and large repairs required to the "Nemesis."

"The Civil Branch of the expenditure may be summed up as follows:—

"Debitable to land revenue, including cost of				Rs.
"collections ...	...	...	...	8,41,230
"Abkaree, including cost of opium	...	...	...	2,03,481
"License Tax	...	...	...	6,798
"Customs	...	...	...	1,19,875
"Salt	...	...	...	5,897
"Stamps	...	...	...	11,075
"Chief Commissioner's Office	...	...	...	1,25,005
"Office of Accountant General	...	...	...	63,130
"Commissioners	...	...	...	1,45,367
"Civil and Criminal Courts	...	...	...	4,68,624
"Gaols	...	...	...	2,40,102
"Police	...	...	...	13,07,148
"Marine	...	...	...	1,91,943
"Education, Science and Art	...	...	...	73,702
"Ecclesiastical	...	...	...	48,745
"Medical	...	...	...	1,13,545
"Printing	...	...	...	46,885
"Political	...	...	...	1,44,573
"Pensions	...	...	...	27,610
"Miscellaneous	...	...	...	30,886
				<hr/>
				42,15,621

'making a total of Rupees 42,15,625. The cost of the Military may be assumed at Rupees 32,47,824. Public Works (exclusive of Port Blair) and Forests 28,63,446, leaving a surplus of Rupees 5,36,325 to meet the expenses of the Post Office, (including the subsidy to sea-going steamers beyond the Province,) the Electric Telegraph, and Relief of Troops."

As then in its first year of promise,—a promise which the greatest Viceroy India has ever seen unhesitatingly accepted,—British Burmah was considered worthy of his personal observation, so at the close of the twelve eventful years which have since elapsed, it may, let us hope, be thought worthy of such an other visit to witness the promise fulfilled.

But it may be asked, what is to be seen in British Burmah? We shall try to give an answer to the question.

Let us suppose that the visitor first goes to Rangoon. It is a voyage of not more than four days from Calcutta, and from December to the middle of April the traveller may

generally depend upon a smooth and pleasant passage. After the early days of March, however, the weather becomes inconveniently warm. January is the best month both for the passage and for the visit, since Rangoon cannot boast of what is called in India "the cold weather," and only December and January are cool and pleasant.

Taking the direct route, probably the first land sighted is Cape Negrais, or the land in its vicinity, which is not high or striking in appearance. The Arakan mountains have been passed far to the eastward. The mail steamers generally make for the land here and coast along between Diamond Island and the mainland, which is the noble District of Bassein with its magnificent river of the same name, the finest in some respects in the Indian Empire. The largest ships can go up or down between the town and the sea, a distance of about ninety miles, at any time of the tide, and by night as well as by day. At Bassein they are moored to the bank, where the water is deep enough for the largest ships to load for sea on both sides of the river. In these important particulars the Bassein River resembles the remarkable Thames, and it is further to be noted of this port that being farthest to the windward, it is more favourably situated for working down the Bay of Bengal in the South-West Monsoon, than either of the other two ports in the Gulf of Martaban, *viz.*, Rangoon or Moulmein. Bassein, indeed, is not, strictly speaking, in the Gulf of Martaban.

But we will suppose that our visitor is independent of the mail steamers. Let him then take the outward passage and pass close to, or, if possible, stop at and visit the Lighthouse on the Alguada Reef, the *chef d'œuvre* of Colonel Alexander Fraser, C. B. of the Bengal Engineers, one of the finest Lighthouses in the world, and built under as difficult circumstances as have ever been surmounted by engineering skill. It stands on an isolated and most dangerous reef, itself worthy of a visit, whence on most days of the year no land is in sight. And it may be noted that the orders for its immediate erection were issued by the first and only Viceroy who ever saw Burmah. What may not Viceroys do for Empires?

Proceeding eastward, with Rangoon distant about a hundred and forty miles, we get into water, which the whole year round is comparatively smooth. No great drift comes in past the Alguada Reef. But before many hours are over, when Rangoon is yet some scores of miles away, the steady gradual shoaling of the water attracts observation.

Only sailors can properly appreciate the approach to a port, where many miles from land they may anchor with perfect safety with an adverse tide.

At last we come to the light ship, and the water seems shoal, with the land hardly in sight. If we arrive at night, we see one of Colonel Fraser's new Lighthouses near the China Bakeer River. But by night or by day large ships must await the flood to go up the river: at night, indeed, it is perhaps hardly safe to do so.

We find as we go up that, though the water is never deep, it is of a very uniform depth with no dangerous shoals or overfalls. In fact there are neither dangers nor difficulties.

Not many miles from the mouth of the river, the Syriam pagoda, a fine large truly Burman structure on the left bank, becomes visible, and would be more admired than it is, if shortly after the stupendous Shwe Dagon pagoda of Rangoon did not come in sight. The eye accustomed to see great buildings and experienced in judging of them, at once recognizes the grandeur of this remarkable structure. It is one of the largest and most striking buildings in the world. Travellers from all parts of the earth admit that from its size, its design, the platform on which it stands, its position and surroundings, its aspect is unique among buildings. The enormous amount of labour which must have been employed to raise such a building in such a place is at once apparent, and is very striking.

A few miles below the town the Hasting's Shoal is crossed, and here the broad sheet of the Pegu River from the eastward joins the Rangoon River, the two forming a very fine expanse of water. Here many ships from all parts of the world are lying at anchor, while immediately ahead others are moored off the Payoondoung Creek, where numerous and very extensive mercantile buildings are to be seen, and a little further on lies the town on the Rangoon River, with its crowd of vessels, faced on the opposite bank by the busy dock-yards of Dalla.

Rangoon has very much the appearance from the river of a European town, with its rows of European mercantile offices and warehouses, the public offices and other buildings, some of them fine piles of masonry, and, even after landing, in many parts of the town one might fancy one's self in an Italian or Greek town.

Once landed, the visitor will notice that the population is a mixed people of many countries. But distinguished among

them all, the Burman will attract attention from the peculiarity of his physiognomy, his robust physical appearance and his dress. For if the visitor be a distinguished one, the Burman will without fail pay him the honor of receiving him in his best attire, his wife also accompanying him in one of the most unique of female dresses. The Burmans are a fair people with a decided Chinese type of countenance, not handsome, but often comely as much from expression as feature, or more so. Both men and women dress very well, and they have a free independent manner and an easy, perhaps rather swaggering gait. The contrast, to the stranger from Calcutta, between them and the dark-skinned, thin-legged people of Bengal is very striking and refreshing.

But no one can say that he has really seen what the people of Burmah are like, until he has seen, say at the Chief Commissioner's house, some of the best families in Rangoon in their holiday attire. It will be remarked that the ladies' dress, indeed the distinctive feminine attire of Burmah,—the petticoat (we say literally *the* petticoat, for there is but one lower garment), is essentially a dress of some self-exposure, that is, in the same way as, but perhaps not to a greater extent than, crinoline. But difficult as such a skimpy, though handsome, garment must be to control, it is managed discreetly with great but unobtrusive dexterity. And free and unfettered as the life of Burmese women is, their demeanour is modest and becoming. Even fastidious and high-bred visitors to Burmah, who may have met the ladies, old and young, of some of the good families of Pegu, of whom we have spoken above, will, we are sure, bear willing testimony to their good style, the taste and picturesqueness of their apparel, and their pleasing manners. And the men are quite as well-mannered, quite as much self-possessed, while a remarkable politeness and deference of manner cannot but appear most striking in both sexes. The following remarks on the origin and condition of the people with one or two other topics are taken from the first Provincial Report on British Burmah for 1861-62, by Sir Arthur Phayre:—

“Throughout the whole country the people belong to various ‘branches of the Indo-Chinese’ family. They probably have ‘come down at a remote period, from the plateau of Central Asia, by the courses of the Salween, and of the eastern ‘affluents of the Irrawaddy. The most advanced race is the ‘Burmese, which at the period of the British conquest possessed ‘the ruling power over the whole country. The Arakanese



“ are of the same race as the Burmese, have the same name  
“ and speak the same tongue, but have been isolated for many  
“ generations by their geographical position. Hence they have  
“ local peculiarities of physiognomy and speech. The other  
“ tribes are the Mon or Talain, the ancient people of Pegu ;  
“ also the Karen, Khyeng, Khamee, and other mountain races  
“ which need not be enumerated. These tribes all have a general  
“ resemblance to each other, and as their dialects differ, the  
“ Burmese language, which is the mother tongue of three-fourths  
“ of the people, serves as a means of communication one with  
“ another. .

“ The social condition of the people throughout the three  
“ divisions is generally similar. Every where in the plains,  
“ the occupied land is an allodial possession. The estates, on  
“ the average, do not exceed eight to ten acres. The agriculture  
“ is rude, but the fertility of the soil is exuberant. There is  
“ only one grain crop in the year, and one cereal, rice, is  
“ cultivated almost exclusively. The laws of inheritance and  
“ of marriage, the religious faith and the superstitious practices,  
“ the traditions, the feelings, the sympathies and the preju-  
“ dices, are generally alike among the people in the plains. But  
“ the hill tribes have not been won over to Buddhism. They  
“ have no idols and no priesthood. They still retain the ancient  
“ worship of the deities of the woods, the hills and the streams.  
“ Their languages are unwritten. Many of them are gradually  
“ settling in the plains, as the Karens commenced doing ages  
“ ago. All the tribes, as a general characteristic, in the ordi-  
“ nary affairs of life, are frank, truthful and hospitable. They  
“ have plenty of food and clothing with reference to the  
“ climate. Whether in the hills or plains, the houses of the  
“ peasantry, built of bamboo, have the floors raised on plat-  
“ forms, and are never placed on the ground.

“ On the hills, the people practise the barbarous mode of  
“ tillage called *toungyu*, which consists in clearing a fresh  
“ patch of forest each season, and burning the timber on the  
“ ground. They change their village sites at uncertain intervals,  
“ as the soil of the surrounding country becomes exhausted.  
“ While such wandering habits last, their condition cannot be  
“ materially improved. The remoter hill tribes are still in a  
“ savage state of isolation and independence ; save in the  
“ District of Toungoo, where the ameliorating influence of educa-  
“ tion and Christianity has wrought an entire change. Even

"the wilder among the hill tribes, however, grow cotton, and weave cloth of strong texture and various colours.

"At the principal sea-ports, Europeans and foreign Asiatics have settled in considerable numbers. Their knowledge, enterprise, and capital have opened out markets for the timber, the rice, the petroleum, and other products of the country, which could not have been accomplished under the Native Government. The people generally, since the British conquest, have acquired a considerable amount of personal property. The small landed proprietors are independent and prosperous. The high rate of wages for a common day labourer, from six to eight annas a day, nine pence to a shilling, shows that the condition of the labouring classes is comfortable. Yet, among the Burmese and other indigenous people there is no class that can be called wealthy."

But to see Burmans and Talaings in their home in Rangoon is not to see much of British Burmah. The Irrawaddy River should be seen, and for this, we must go a day's journey by a smaller steamer from Rangoon. The people should be seen at work on their great stream, though unfortunately January is not the best month for seeing its great boat-traffic; and the traveller should visit some towns on the Irrawaddy, especially Prome. In the way of scenery, there is nothing very striking to be seen in Lower Pegu. Near Prome it becomes more picturesque, but for really fine scenery we must visit Moulmein, and go at least some miles above the Duke of York's nose on the Salween,—a few hours' trip. Of architecture, there are innumerable pagodas and Kyoungs, (monasteries) in Pegu and Tenasserim, many of which are worth seeing. We may, however, reasonably sum up our remarks on this subject by saying that a visit of ten or twelve days is long enough in which to acquire a good notion of the country and the people.

We hasten on to notice those subjects which distinguish, or are characteristic of, the Burmans.

And, firstly, a glance at the religion of the country will not be out of place. Bishop Bigandet's "*Life of Gaudama*," gives in a small space the best account we have met with of the Buddhism, which is the national religion of Burmah. And much besides a knowledge of the religion of the country may be learnt from this excellent work with its little Appendix containing "*Abstracts of a few Zats*,"\* "*A Notice on the Buddhist*

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\* A *Zat* is a story of some of the events connected with some of the prior stages of existence of the Buddha Gaudama.

Religions," and "The Seven Ways to Naikban." The worthy Bishop is a high authority on Burmese matters generally. The creed, then, of Burmah is Buddhism, and the priests are celibates and a strictly monastic hierarchy. If we were asked, is it an operative faith with the people? we should reply that it does exert a moral force quite equal to the force of most of the creeds of the world; that, as a religion, it is active and efficacious. We may say of the Burmans that they are a religious people, certainly they are so as compared with what are called civilized nations. But they are not a religious people in the sense that the Mahomedans are: they are not a bigoted or fanatical people. There is a very noticeable apparent difference between the religious practice of the old compared with the young; the old are particularly strict in the observance of their duties, which in some respects are severe, involving as they do much watching and fasting. Young people, and especially young men, pay very little attention to the worship days, long prayers, or fasting, yet it cannot be said that the young are irreligious, or that there is any apparent tendency to unbelief.

We have no hesitation in saying that the priests may be called good men. They live a life of considerable self-denial, which at least is a proof of sincerity; they are the self-constituted and unsalaried, and it may be said the sole instructors of the young, that is, of boys only; they are often the advisers and referees of the people in secular affairs, and they do not meddle in politics. Bishop Bigandet says that it does not appear that they have ever aimed at any share in the direction of the affairs of the country. He states that for a hundred years at least the history has been tolerably well-known, and yet he can call to mind no occasion when the priests as a body have interfered in State affairs. This is doubtless the general opinion of the best informed persons. Yet their influence with the people is very great: their position is a very dignified one; indeed they are objects of adoration. The Burman, however, is rather given to adoring; he is a great worshipper of the embodiment of power or holiness in man. And there is nothing profane in this according to his religious views: all the Buddhs were once men and even much lower animals.

Our limits will not permit of our saying more on this topic. We have only to add as a final observation that to the Western mind nothing that the priests do, appears so striking and peculiar as that which they do not do. They do not name children, they do not marry people, they do not bury: they

have nothing to do with these things. And yet the naming of a child is an important matter in Burman life; the marriage of young people, though not ceremonious, is a serious affair of negotiation; and a funeral is one of the most engrossing events of village and even town life.

Of the literature and drama there is not very much to be said. The interminable religious zats and almost equally long histories, with some few well-known tales, hardly constitute what we call a literature. Of books of science or art, biographies, travels and poetry, there may be said to be none. Yet there are songs, and very good ones, and the music is decidedly of a better style and execution than the native music of India. New airs are constantly composed, and become current and fashionable, flourish for a short time, and then give way to newer tunes, and the people are great lovers of both vocal and instrumental music. General Fytche informs us in his Report to Government of his Embassy to the Court of Mandalay in 1867, that the king treated him to some really beautiful singing. The legendary lore of Burmah is extensive and highly romantic, and much of it is as interesting as fairy tales in general are, which, as Dr. Johnson truly says, are the most interesting of all things. The drama is decidedly not of a high order. In some respects, such as scenery, stage accompaniments and properties, it is rude and inartistic, and to our ideas it is neither entertaining nor instructive. But that it completely suits the taste of the people, is triumphantly proved by their devotion to it. The whole population of a village or quarter of a town, some old people excepted, will sit up at a badly-lighted, ill-acted, totally "unmounted," and, to our ideas, most monotonous Pway (or play) literally all night, that is from 9 P.M. till 6 A.M. A zat Pway is a compound of singing, dancing and reciting. The characters are few, there is little variety in the pieces, the plot generally embracing a very few characters, and portraying merely the adventures of a prince, first in quest of, and then in the courtship of, a princess; a king, a very heavy father, an oppressively wise minister or two, a buffoon as a rather inappropriate attendant on the prince, and a maid of honour or two for the princess. The singing is sometimes fair, the dancing is mere posturing, but a great deal of ingenuity is often displayed in timing the movements in exact accord with the music, and in skilful contortions of the body.

We think it cannot now be denied that there is generally a great deal of coarseness and even indecency in the Burman Pway. The chief fun indeed of the buffoon's acting is in its improprieties, and he is a great favorite with the audience. Respectable women as well as men undoubtedly enjoy this fun, but we think it highly probable that to them it does not appear so gross as it does to us: that they may be just as good as the ladies amongst ourselves a few generations back who admired plays, which we now will hardly name; and it is just possible that while the Loobyet's fun does not appear indecent to them, they would regard an English ballet or burlesque as most immodest and unfeminine exhibitions. And perhaps they are right.

As regards education, we are compelled to say that not much is done in Burmah proportionately with other Provinces, that there is a rapidly growing desire to learn English, in the large towns of British Burmah at least: and that we are believers in aided village schools with adequate inspection. And surely it is desirable to give a due place to instruction in the vernacular to take care that the English language does not become an Aaron's rod to swallow up all others. Burman boys learn quickly and are tractable, and the girls are quite as quick and of course more manageable. We are of those who think that Government is often rather unreasonably called upon to spend more of its income on education, but we repeat that Burmah has not yet received its fair share of attention.

We proceed to notice the vexed question of opening roads to China.

Whether any very signal benefits are to result from opening these communications direct or indirect, by railway or by road, is, we think, questionable. We do not share the very *couleur de rose* views of the majority on this subject. In fact, we confess to being sceptical enough to doubt, in the first place, the illimitable wealth and infinite resources of China. We believe that China will be found chiefly remarkable for its population enormous and poor—a population which, with exceptions rarer than in other countries, lives a literal “hand-to-mouth” life of excessive labor and extreme indigence. As for streams of rich caravans from Yunan *via* Bhamo, we doubt if any one alive will live to see even a semblance of them.

The first question is—what is Yunan? What is the great good that we can reasonably expect to come out of it? And these questions may perhaps best be answered by another to which

there will probably be no reply—who knows? The province to the north of it, Szut Chhouan may be more promising, but those who put their faith in “tapping,” as it is familiarly called, this or that border province of China, will probably find that, when we have tapped, we must go much further, perhaps even to the sea again, before we can attract even moderate streams of wealth into Bengal or Burmah.

Perhaps the project of all others the wildest, is that of a railway through the desolate wilderness of the Shwegyin District, through the unfriendly Red Karen country to a Chinese south-west frontier town. But of course on any line where hostility or serious political difficulties of any sort are to be encountered, Government will be very slow to undertake or encourage construction or Survey projects. Indeed, at the root of the whole matter there lies a question which is perhaps not sufficiently considered.—Is it the business of Government to undertake these Surveys?

The following passage from a recent writer who appears to have a special knowledge of his subject, may be aptly quoted here :—

“There are few countries in the world, if indeed any, which have  
“excited more vague interest, or inspired more wide-spread ideas  
“of romance and wondering curiosity, than the distant, secluded,  
“imperfectly known Empire of China. Tracing our knowledge  
“of it to ages when credulity was unbounded, and when the  
“whole East was to Europeans the favoured land of wealth,  
“civilization, luxury and grandeur, the cradle of the human  
“race, and the theatre on which nations had arisen whose numbers  
“were as the sands of the sea-shore, it was only natural that,  
“viewed through the magnifying class of ignorance and unfettered  
“imagination, the most distant, the best organized, the most  
“civilized, and the most densely populated of all the Oriental  
“countries, should have made a deep, though indistinct, im-  
“pression on the minds of all classes. To the present day this  
“undefined sway over the European imagination continues, and  
“even for those who have spent a considerable portion of their  
“lives in China, it is difficult to efface early impressions from their  
“memories, notwithstanding the extremely adverse nature of  
“their own experience. The idea that the Chinese peasant is in  
“every respect a much more degraded being than the English  
“agricultural labourer, with no notion of comfort or cleanliness,  
“is rudely disenchanting to the popular conception born of a  
“credulous imagination.

"The consequence of all these misconceptions and delusions has been, that something of this halo of romance has surrounded Europeans who have visited China, and the China trade itself has been the cynosure of merchants, and those engaged in it have been the envy of those less favoured individuals whose lot has been cast in less influential branches of commerce. Formerly, to spend a few years in China was to amass a fortune, and a merchant returning to England was a man of whom his friends and his country were proud. As a result of this, there are certain traditions of the former acquired fortunes, and of the extravagance of old times still lingering at the open ports: but the abundance and rapidity of communication, and the easy and speedy diffusion of capital, have already, in a great measure, assimilated the state of affairs in China to that prevailing at home. The hold of these traditions on people's imagination must gradually weaken, as evidence more and more convincing is offered that large fortunes are not made by residents in China. Even moderate fortunes are becoming rarer, and indeed we doubt if any part of the world devoted to commerce, could show such a large average of failures as has been witnessed in China during the last five years. The exigencies of trade now cause even the heads of houses to make London their head-quarters, while the conduct of their business in the East is entrusted to junior partners, so that those most largely interested in both the import and export business of China, are really merchants principally in London, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, doing their trade through their own houses or through agents in the East. Large fortunes, therefore, are not made in China, but under the genial influences of the salubrious climate of England."

The same writer, after telling us that there can hardly be a more degraded being than the Chinese peasant, adds that the occupation of the people as a whole is agriculture, in fact, that they are nearly all peasants; and he then goes on to say:—

"It must be remembered that the Chinese are not in any sense an industrial people, as the term industrial is understood in Europe. China may be described as an enormous aggregation of villages, or perhaps more correctly of hamlets, and the occupation of the people as a whole is agriculture. There are no large workshops of disciplined artisans, no elaborate contrivances for multiplying products, no division of labour or complicated co-operation for the purpose of economising time. The large cities are few, because all the social and economical

“organisation of the Empire tends to agriculture ; and agriculture carried on in minute patches demands hamlets at every few hundred yards. The reason of this is obvious. China has always been, perhaps more than any country in the world, self-supporting, and that from a period to which Europe can scarcely trace back its existence. The scenes that one witnesses there, the boats on the creeks and rivers, the face of the land, and the wooden huts of the body of the people, the style of garments in which they clothe themselves, the copper-coloured countenances darkened by the sun and begrimed with dirt, are probably all such as might have been seen in the same places about the time of the deluge. It may be a considerable step from the nude and houseless savage to the Chinese peasant, and the latter may be the tardy product of ages of progressive effort ; but to the modern mind which sympathizes not with earthen floors and miserable wooden sheds, the condition of this Oriental peasantry is that of hopeless degradation, removed indeed by wide degrees from the pure savage, yet seemingly not much nearer to the civilized man.”

Our own idea is, that China can do nothing better for Burmah than to send some of its teeming multitudes into the country. The best gift to Burmah at present would be an abundant population. If roads or railways will bring streams of Chinese immigrants into this land, and if no other means will do so, than by all means let roads and railways be made.

The Chinaman in Burmah is conspicuous as a good cultivator, and a hard-working man, and is invariably more comfortably housed, better fed, and better off than his Burman neighbour. And it is a fact deserving of special notice that they amalgamate as a race in every respect extremely well with Burmans. Their children by Burmese mothers are a finer race than the Burman ; their daughters indeed are well known to be the handsomest women in the country. Nor does the amalgamation stop here : they are either nothingarians in religion, which is uncommon, or they follow implicitly the religious practice—we will not say much about the belief—of their wives, or where there are many well-to-do Chinamen in a community, they indulge in a little harmless variety of Buddhism of their own, with their own joss-house. Now it is well known that the native of India does not amalgamate well with the Burman. Nature will not have it : the races are not cognate. The progeny of natives of India by Burmese mothers is a dusky, puny race, neither morally, socially, nor physically



comparable to the Burman: thin legs, and the seclusion of women, become distinctive features of this mongrel result.

But whatever China may or may not do for British Burmah, the province has a great future before it. We do not expect wonders, and we are disposed to think that mercantile firms may be multiplying rather too fast for their own good. But the influx of immigrants from India and Upper Burmah is large and steady; the area of cultivation rapidly extends; traffic with the King's dominions must improve, and is already improving in character; both export and import products are yearly becoming more various; and the indigenous people are, probably as a matter of course, becoming more industrious and enterprising.

Whether Saigon is not already a dangerous enemy in the second year of its rice export trade to Europe; whether British Burmah can successfully compete with it much longer in this trade under an export duty of three annas per maund; and whether a serious decline in the rice trade would not be a great disaster for the country—are matters deserving of grave consideration. It is quite beyond the scope of this paper to discuss an economic point of this character.

ART V.—THE KOLS; THE INSURRECTION OF 1832;  
AND THE LAND TENURE ACT OF 1869.

1. Papers relating to the South-west Frontier by H. Ricketts.
2. Colonel Dalton's and Major Tickell's Papers in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
3. Das Leben der Freiherrn von Stein.
4. The Land and Labour of India. A Review by W. Nassau Lees. 1867.
5. Prochnow's Life of Gossner.

**A**MONG the characteristics of the nineteenth century, none is more conspicuous than the attention which is being paid to the masses, and the consequent impression that, in order to reach them, we are not to wait for the slow wearisome process of filtering downwards from the upper stratum. We know it is a theory popular in education and missions in Bengal, that we are to act on the higher classes before we proceed to the lower; we would say,—Act on the higher classes, but let there be a simultaneous movement in regard to the lower. "The peasant's toe may tread on the courtier's heel." The voice of history is, we believe, with us. Aristocracies have been, as a rule, selfish, always tending to maintain a monopoly of power and knowledge, and to use it for controlling the masses. The conduct of the Sanskrit-taught Brahmans of ancient India, as well as of the English-taught Brahmans of modern Bengal, is an exemplification of this. How long should we have waited ere the polished, educated Slave-holders of America voluntarily renounced their ill-gotten gains in human flesh. Even the noblest aristocracy in the world, the English, only conceded the Reform Bill when they saw the alternative was reform or revolution, and that to delay the concession might imperil the existence of their order. Or select the most recent case—the abolition of serfdom in Russia. When the policy had long been in Russia to filter down to the mass through an educated *noblesse*, the nobles were polished and refined, but what was the case of the serfs?—they continued degraded, debased, the victims of their masters' luxury and profligacy. No stir consequently was made in the stagnancy of Russian aristocratic life, until the present Czar Alexander, the Liberator, as he is styled by

his own countrymen, took the matter into his own hand by initiating, in spite of the violent hostility of the educated nobles, the great and glorious measure of serf-emancipation, which has placed the Russian peasant in a far higher political position than that of the Indian peasant. To come nearer home, look at Bengal with its millions of what are not ryots but serfs. Lord Cornwallis with benevolent intentions hoped to ameliorate their condition by creating zemindars whose influence would radiate around; but, as Major Lees remarks in his excellent work,\* "His Excellency no doubt thought to make English landlords of the zemindars of Bengal; but it is patent to the world that he succeeded only in making Irish ones." We would refer those anxious for further information on this subject to this excellent work of Major Lees, in which he shows how the ryot has gained nothing from the zemindars whose invariable policy has been to grind him down, to enhance his rents, leaving no margin for a saving against a rainy day, or for providing education for his children. Latterly, the zemindars have set themselves in deadly array, having inscribed on their banners—hostility to popular education.

It is the conviction arising from this failure of the plan for postponing the enlightening of the masses until the upper classes are enlightened, that has drawn the attention of philanthropists and others to the condition of the aboriginal tribes of India. Nor has the past been without success. The Records of Government entomb most interesting accounts of the labors of Sir J. Outram among the Gonds, where, alone and unprotected, he achieved heroic deeds of peace and civilization among those savage outlaws. The Rajmahal Hills, last century, between 1772 and 1780, witnessed the triumphs of a Cleveland, who, though cut off at the early age of 28, yet nevertheless succeeded, by his personal and direct influence, in taming those Rob Roys,—the terror of the Hills. We have now lying before us a letter of Cleveland's dated Sikrigully, 21st April 1780, which details in graphic language the success of his plans among those aboriginal tribes. The limits of this article forbid our extracting from it, but we hope to see the whole of Cleveland's correspondence some day published. It may be interesting for the public to know that in the district which was the scene of Cleveland's labors, there is now in progress a successful work of the Church Missionary Society among the Sonthals, originally set on foot by an Officer of Dragoons, who, after the Sebastopol campaign, entered the

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\* Land and Labour, p. 168.

Church, came out as a Missionary to this country, and at his own expense founded this Mission among the Sonthals, which is now under the charge of a medical Missionary.

But not only on Christian and philanthropic grounds is the elevation of these aboriginal tribes important; the peace and security of India are connected with it. England can never expect the native aristocracy or landholders of India to be on her side. In carrying out a policy of justice and equal rights for all, the zemindars of Bengal, the talukdars of Oude and the Rajs of the Punjab, must, from their position as monopolists opposed to the welfare of the peasant, be also opposed to the increasing democratic tendencies of England, moving with accelerated impulse under the auspices of Gladstone and Bright. The next few years will see swept away in Ireland and England many of the vestiges of feudalism, and that peasant proprietorship which has worked such wonders on the Continent \* may one day be established in England also. Then will be "the good time coming" for the Bengali serf, and the now trampled-down but noble peasants of Oude and the Punjab. In order to combat the dissatisfaction of a landed aristocracy, England must rely on the people at large; there were many instances in the mutiny of the attachment of the peasantry to the English rule, so beneficial to many in the Agra Presidency. After all physical force rests with the people; the pampered Brahmin sepoy, the Moslem bigot or the educated Babu, who thinks he is qualified for every office under the sun because of his book-cram and wonderful memory, may not be with us, but we can have a better class, and foremost among them the aboriginal tribes. In the face of Russia,—the champion of peasant-proprietorship—we cannot have a feudal policy in India; it would be downright infatuation. Russia suppressed the Polish insurrection mainly by her principle of peasant-proprietorship, which enabled the Polish peasantry to oust the Polish landlords—landlords who wielded their power very like the Bengal zemindars. †

It is absolutely necessary, then, in the interests, not only of philanthropy, but also of peace, to take energetic measures for securing the welfare of these aborigines; and our chief means to accomplish that at present is, what lies at the foundation of all

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\* On the peasant proprietor question see Mill's Political Economy, Sismondi, Kay's Tour in Europe, Howitt, Laing's Travels.

† In the Mutiny an Englishman enrolled a corps of 500 Kôls as a body-guard at an expense of 10 rupees each per mensem. They executed their task, and were afterwards rewarded by being allowed to *loot* some of the rebellious zemindars.

Indian prosperity, *security of tenure for the peasant*. For the aborigines, low as they may be in the scale of civilisation, yet, like Russian peasants, are wide awake to their right to the land ; though no Brahmins, they hold with Menu that he who first cultivates the soil is the first proprietor.

We shall treat in the course of this article of the Kôl insurrection of 1832, caused by the attempt of the zemindars to oust the peasants from their hereditary possessions ; and connected with it is a subject that has recently attracted public attention,—the new Tenures Act introduced in favor of the Kôls, mainly through the exertions of their friend Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner of Chôta Nagpore, who, both by his writings and actions, has done so much for the Kôls that he may be called a second Cleveland. But before taking up this interesting subject, we will give some preliminary information regarding the Kôls themselves, mainly founded on what was furnished us in a recent visit we paid to Ranchi. Those who wish for further information will find it in abundance in a number of articles from the pen of Colonel Dalton in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Colonel Dalton is preparing an elaborate work on the Kôls, illustrated with photographic drawings, which will soon be published. We hope he will also collect his scattered articles into one volume.

The records of Government also throw considerable light on the district of Chôta Nagpur. Sixty years ago the communication between Calcutta and Benares lay through it along what was called the New Road *via* Bancoora, Manbhum, Chass, Hazaribagh, Kynde, and Shergotty. But the road was infested not only with four-footed but also with two-footed tigers—dacoits so numerous that in 1797 the magistrate reported to Government that the road was almost impassable on account of them ; those were the days too when *thuggi* flourished unknown and undetected in all its glory, ere Colonel Sleeman had arisen to pierce the haunts of crime and probe the masses. The Chuars, an aboriginal tribe, were, like the Pindaris, regular plunderers ; they came out in such numbers as to have had in 1799 a skirmish with the troops near Pachete. The names of Gopal Manji, the “ Rob Roy ” of Ramghur, and Atman Roy were well known in the last century. When the latter was killed, his head was sent by his followers to the Commanding Officer to bid him defiance. Man Sing, another of the same class, plundered Nagore. These belonged to the *jât* of robbers by profession of whom mention is made in 1788 in a letter to Government,

"who were neither to be reclaimed by leniency nor deterred by punishment from infesting the district and plundering the villages." The zemindars in those days were invested by Government, unfortunately for the country and people, with Police jurisdiction, but they harboured dacoits, sent them on expeditions, and got one-third of the spoil for their share. One of these worthies used to assemble men under the pretence of apprehending dacoits, and let them loose on his own ryots. Another, when any of his zemindari was put up to sale, ordered the Chuars to plunder those inclined to purchase; whenever he failed in a law-suit, he made the ryots pay the costs, sometimes amounting to Rs. 4,000.

Mr. Thomason was Deputy Secretary to Government at the time of the Kôl insurrection, and subsequently became Lieutenant-Governor of the Agra Presidency. In his Minute of April 1832, he gives the following information as to the origin of British connection with Chôta Nagpore:—

"In 1769-70 Captain Camac was employed in reducing the zemindars at Carruckdeah and the Jungleterry District. In 1771 it was determined to reinstate Gopal Roy, the Rajah of Palamow, in his country, from which he had been driven by the Takoors. This was effected by Captain Camac in the early part of 1771, and the country was brought entirely under subjection to the British. During these operations Muchchun Sing, the Rajah of Ramghur, intrigued to prevent our success, whilst Rajah Durpnath Shaye of Chôta Nagpore rendered us essential service. At that time the Rajah of Ramghur paid a tribute of Rs. 27,000 per annum, part of which, Rs. 4,000, was levied by him from the Rajah of Chôta Nagpore.

"Captain Camac took this opportunity of representing to the Provincial Council at Patna the importance of securing in our interests the Rajah of Chôta Nagpore, whose country would form an effectual barrier to the incursions of the Mahrattas, thus covering Behar and Beerbhoom, and, at the same time, giving us the command of the passes into the Deccan, through which, he stated, that Mr. Law had retreated after his defeat in Behar. With this view Captain Camac recommended that Rajah Durpnath Sahye should be allowed to pay his malgoozaree direct to Government, instead of through Muchchun Sing, the Rajah of Ramghur, whose conduct he represented to have been most arbitrary and oppressive. If this request were granted, the Rajah was ready to pay Rs. 12,000 in lieu of Rs. 6,000, which had been before extracted from him,

" On this occasion Durpnath Sahye himself addressed a letter to the Provincial Council at Patna, which commences thus : ' I have been from old a *malgoozar* (or renter) of the Government, and the Rajah Muchchun Sing has long been a servant of me and my father.' He proceeds to state that Muchchun Sing had acquired power by being employed for the Nizamut, and had usurped authority over him ; and he prays that he may be allowed to hold the country as formerly, and that he will be responsible for the *rents*.

" When this measure was discussed in the Provincial Council, the Rajah Shital Roy delivered in an account of the country.

" He represented the country to have been first subdued, A. H. 952 (A. D. 1545), in the reign of Akbar Shah, when Rajah Moân Sing marched in from Rotas, passed through Paloon (Palamow), and established his authority in the country ; on the disturbances which followed the death of Akbar Shah, the Zemindars regained their independence A. H. 1042 (A. D. 1632). Shah Jehan gave the country Palamow as a Jagheer to Buzurgatmed Cawen, Subadar of Patna, and settled the revenue at Rupees 1,36,000 ; in A. H. 1096 he was turned out and Ibrahim Cawen succeeded ; Beharry Doss, the Fouzedar of Ibrahim Cawen, raised the revenue to 1,60,919, and of this settlement an account is given in which Coira Orissa, or Nagpore, with Currunpoor or Badam, is rated at Rupees 40,505 ; the rest of the revenue is made up from the other parts of the country.

" In the reign of Mahomed Shah, 1131 F. E. (A. D. 1724), Seabullened Cawen was Subadar. He marched against Rajah Nagbundy Sing, who was then zemindar of Nagpore, and to whom the Ghatwalls of Palaoon, Ramghur, and Badam were subject. The Subadar had reached the hills, when he was met by Bedman Dass Tacoor, the Rajah's agent, and his further progress arrested by payment of a Nuzzeranah of a lakh of Rupees, 4,500 in cash, the rest in diamonds. Tribute was afterwards withheld, and in 1137 F. E. (A. D. 1731) Fughyru Dowah, the then Subadar, marched to the foot of the hills by way of Koonda. He met with considerable resistance, and was glad to compromise his claims by receiving Rupees 12,000 from the Ghatwall of Ramghur on account of the Nagpore Rajah, and 5,000 from the Ghatwall of Palaoon. In 1141 (A. D. 1735) Alliverdikhān with some difficulty enforced this payment, and it was continued afterwards till the British acquired the country.

" The Patna Provincial Council acceded to the proposal of Captain Camac, and accepted Rajah Durpnath Sing's offer,

" making a settlement with him for three years at Rupees 12,000 per annum. On this occasion he received a Khilat from the Patna Council and a Perwannah from the Chief and Rajah Shital Roy.

" In 1772 the Rajah of Nagpoor afforded our troops much assistance in the reduction of Ramghur, but suffered himself much from the incursions of the Mahrattas and the disturbances occasioned by Nanna Sam, a pretender to his Raj. The revenue appears to have been very irregularly paid, and balances to have accrued. The authority of the Rajah over the Jagheerdars in his country was very imperfect, the subordinate Rajahs of Toree and of the five Pergunnahs, Tamar, &c., seldom paid him anything.

" In 1774 a settlement was made with him for the three ensuing years—1182, 1183, and 1184 F. E.—at the same Jummah of Rupees 12,000 per annum; the balances then due were remitted on this occasion to Captain Carnac, at whose instance the settlement was made, who expressed his conviction that the country could yield treble that revenue, but that no increase on the former Jummah could be then anticipated because of the little power the Rajah possessed to coerce the Jagheerdars.\*"

Thanks to the rail, the land of the Kôls is now within two or three days' journey of Calcutta; a seven hours' ride on the East Indian Railway conducts the traveller along historical ground, once occupied by Danes, French, and Dutch to Burdwan; thence to the mining district of Ranéegunge, and so through a country reminding one of Cornwall, to the Barrakur Railway Station. There one of Greenway's comfortable dâk gharies takes him across the Barrakur river to the plateau of Bahar, elevated 2,000 feet above steamy, swampy Bengal; he passes along an undulating country, the scenery varied by detached conical hills, until he comes in view of Parisnath, the mountain monarch of Bahar, one of the most glorious sights in the world with the sun setting over it; he skirts its splendid base, and passes through a most picturesque, well-wooded country, abounding in game, until he reaches Burhi, and turns south along a plateau of the Vindhya hills, when a drive of a few hours brings him to Hazaribagh, a favorite military station. The horse dâk has to be left here and the paliki resorted to, which will bring him in fifteen hours to Ranchi, the capital of Chota Nagpore, the headquarters of the Commissioner and of the German Mission.

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\* In 1787 it was reported that the Raja was in debt to Government and oppressive to his people, and when troops were sent against him, he fled to the Mahratta country,



On returning from Ranchi to Calcutta, the visitor had better take the route by Purulia, which is shorter and cheaper. One night's dāk will take him to the waterfall of the Subunreka,—a most romantic spot, where the river has a fall down a depth of 320 feet, where hill and dale, wood and water, combined with a delicious solitude, give an enjoyment which must be realized in order to be appreciated. You pass through beautiful forests or village clearings along the bright clear stream of the Subunreka (or golden river), as it flows gently on to Orissa; resting an hour respectively at Silli and Jhuldi, you arrive, after about fifteen hours, at the flourishing town of Purulia, the capital of Manbhum.\* Still journeying by palki dāk, you see a few miles from Purulia on the right a Buddhist or Jain temple. This country and the banks of the adjacent Damuda, contain numerous remains of Buddhism, and of antiquity, indicating a condition in former days far superior to

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\* Purulia is the chief town of Manbhum; it was formed about 30 years ago; the population amounts to 5,000. *Fairs* are held at Moteada, Jelkuppee, Budhpee, Dhodanga and Chakaltore, respectively, in the months of February, March, April, May and September; about 10,000 people attend. A valley has been lunded so as to form a beautiful lake, the waters of which add health and ornament to the Station.

The people of Manbhum are poor and indolent to a proverb. There are 358,888 men and 335,696 women, or 125 to the square mile. No past history is given, as in 1857 the records were all burnt. The famine in Manbhum in 1866 carried off some 30,000 of the population.

Coal and limestone are found in the northern part of the district. There are 2,723 square miles of cultivation to 2,828 of waste. The Kasai flows 2 miles east of Purulia and enters the Midnapur district. The denuding the country of trees here as elsewhere has not only rendered the soil in many places barren but has also increased the temperature at the station. However, they have lately begun to plant. This, in time, with the artificial lake made by Lieutenant Tickell will add much to the coolness. The damming up of ravines and water-courses would confer a great benefit on the country. See an interesting paper on the flora of Manbhum, by G. Ball, Esq., in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 11, 1869, pp. 112-124.

A direct railway from Calcutta to Bombay, *via* Nagpur, is being proposed in England now. It is of vital necessity to open out the resources of the country bordering on Central India. One line proposed *via* Raueegunge or Burdwan to Jubbulpur, and advocated by Dr. Oldham of the Geological Survey, would be 120 miles shorter than the East India Railway route; the other, however, proceeding *via* Midnapur, Sumbulpur and Raipur to Nagpur would open out districts of great agricultural and mineral wealth, and would bring Orissa and the Madras Presidency into direct communication with Calcutta, without considering the vast political importance of an alternative line in case of war. The southern part of the Chōta Nagpore district would be greatly benefited by it.

the present. You pass through Ragnathpore, and can, if you like, pay a visit to the Raja of Pachete, an old zemindar, who boasts of sixty generations,—but what have they done for the country? Even the Raja's own palace bears all the marks of neglect and ignorance. Some six hours from Ragnathpore bring you, past Baharinath, to the rivers Damuda and Barrakur, and the railway station of the latter name.

According to tradition, the Kôls, in their two tribes of Mundas and Uraons, were the first inhabitants of Chôta Nagpore; the time when they came into the land is not certain, but there is little doubt the Mundas came from the east and south east, and took possession of the southern and eastern parts of Nagpore. After the Mundas came the Uraons from the west, and settled in the western and northern parts of Chôta Nagpore. The Uraons have a tradition that they formerly lived to the north of the Soane river, and that the old fortress of Rotasghur, in the district of Mirzapore, was the residence of their kings. Pressed by other tribes—Khetriyas and Brahmins, they went to the south, and drove out the Mundas, living to the south-east. The Uraons say that since their coming to Chôta Nagpore, fifty-two generations have passed.

At the time of the Kôl immigration, the whole country was a jungle; these tribes penetrated the terrible wilderness and cultivated it with their own hands, and made Chôta Nagpore what it is now—a fertile garden; and hence their claim on the soil as its first cultivators. From ancient times they lived in patriarchal style under heads of villages and heads of districts, (Munda and Manki), each ruling over one or more villages; the whole country was considered to be common property. In village-meetings, conferences and general assemblies, all quarrels were composed and decided. But this simple Government, so highly spoken of by them, endured not a very long time; they elected a king, probably one of the Mundas.

The Kôls divided the cultivated land into two parts, one-half for the king (Rajhas) and the other half for the villagers (Bhuinhari). For the Bhuinhari they had to pay nothing, it was the property of the common wealth, and every Bhuinhari had a claim to a part of it.\*

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\* A Kôl knows his Bhuinhari village even when he is living far away, and when he dies, his body is brought to his own village, and his ashes are deposited in the common burial place by the side of his ancestors. A large stone is put on the grave and by these stones they prove their Bhuinharihood in the village assemblies.

For the Rajhas they used to pay *malguzari*, or rent, in kind, but since 1818, the English period, in money. When the king himself cultivated the Rajhas he gave a piece for field to the cultivators rent-free—such a field was called a *begari* field. The King had in every village a person to care for the rent and his interest, and for this trouble he got a piece of land, called *majhas*. Besides, there was a piece of ground cultivated rent-free—*bhut khet*.

The Kôls remained long undisturbed in the possession of their lands and privileges, though the royal family (*Nâgbunsîs*) of Nagpur, growing more and more powerful, divided the land amongst themselves. Gradually the king's family came under the influence of Brahminism; they accepted the Hindi language and religion, and the Brahmins made them *Khetriyas*. In consequence of this, unfortunately for the people, a great many Hindus from Behâr and other parts came into possession of the villages. But for a long time they could not oppress the Kôls or intrude upon their rights and privileges, as the Kôls defended themselves by the sword; and they still say they would fight the *zemindars*, were they only allowed to do so by the English.

Until 1818 the Kôls with their chiefs were under the rule of the Mahrattas, who robbed and plundered the country, coming on their marauding expeditions every three years; but the Kôls say, the Mahrattas did less mischief than the *zemindars*. Chôta Nagpore came under British rule in 1818, and since that time much has been altered. The English, before 1832, did not take full possession of the country; though it had been opened to the Mahomedans and Hindus, and to vagabonds of the English Courts of the North-Western districts. This class of people have been the plague and curse of the Kôls. Hungry as vultures, they became the servants of the *zemindars*, and therewith began the oppression of the Kôls, which led to the insurrection of 1832. Since that time the Kôls are subdued, though they have suffered much from intrigues in the Courts, from the *Amla*, *Muktears*, and all those that prey on the weak and ignorant.

Every village in Chôta Nagpore has its *jagirdar* or *zemindar* (hereditary possessors) or *thikadar* (farmer of the revenue) or *bhandari*, (royal administrator) assisted by *lathiyals*, who like the mounted knights of the middle ages, act against the Kôls. Though the owner of the village enjoys the usufruct of the *Majhas*, yet, not content with that, he ploughs as much as possible on his own account. The Kôls are compelled to cultivate

the ground for him, and to pay all kinds of illegal cesses. The ground-rent is taken not only from the Rajhas, but also from the Bhuinhari land and in many villages Rajhas and Bhuinhari do not differ. In some villages the Bhuinhari pays the half; in many other villages they are still rent free; nevertheless they are plundered and robbed. The worst is that the Kôls do not get receipts from the thikadar for the rent they pay, though there is a rent-law according to which the thikadar is bound to give a receipt, yet he can bring a law suit against any tenant who cannot produce receipts for the rent of the last three years. If it happens that a Kôl is obstinate and refuses service to his oppressor, the thikadar has only to threaten him with the rent-law. If he desires a receipt, he is threatened with a suit for three years' rent in Cutcherry. In the Courts receipts are required; and if the Kôls cannot produce them, their houses and cattle are sold; or if the thikadar is not very avaricious, they have go to jail for some time. Perhaps however, he gives them another opportunity to acquire property; but as soon as they have a new crop, he again attacks them with the aid of the law, and robs them again, appealing to the decree that has been given. So it often happens that the Kôls have to pay the ground-rent three times over, and they are given up into the hand of their oppressors.

And these thikadars allow them only so much as will enable them to work on for their benefit. When the oppressor wants a horse, the Kôl must pay; when he desires a palki, the Kôls have to pay, and afterwards to bear him therein. They must pay for his musicians, for his milchcows, for his *pan*. Does some one die in his house? he taxes them; is a child born, again a tax; is there a marriage or a puja, a tax. Is the thikadar found guilty at Cutcherry and sentenced to be punished? the Kôl must pay the fine. Or does a death occur in the house of the Kol? the poor man must pay a fine; is a child born, is a son or daughter married, the poor Kôl is still taxed. And this plundering, punishing, robbing system goes on till the Kôl runs away. These unjust people not only take away every thing in the house, but even force the Kôls to borrow, that they may obtain what they want, reminding one of Sidney Smith's account of the poor man taxed from his birth to his coffin. Again, whenever the thikadar has to go to Cutcherry or to the king, to a marriage, or on a pilgrimage, however distant the place, the Kôls must accompany him and render service without payment.

The following information we have from parties in the district for example. In a certain village there lives a Christian family, and some little time ago another came forward to renounce the worship of the devil, and to become a Christian. The baptised Christian had 4 *Poas* Bhuihari, and he paid for it 6 rupees, half of what is to be paid for the Rajhas. Now the jagirdar took one poa, and still required the whole rent, which he raised to 12 rupees. He taxes the Kôls again and again. He required from another Kôl we know a contribution of 30 rupees for a present to the Rajah, 30 rupees for the Durgapuja, 1 rupee for the milchcow, for the benefit of the new-born prince three rupees, and dakhina five rupees. Besides that the jagirdar puts down, according to a bad custom in India, a rupee for ghee, a rupee for rice, a rupee for dal, and for that the Kôl must give him in October ghee to the value of three rupees, eight baskets of rice worth four rupees, and 6 baskets of dal worth three rupees.

So we find it throughout the whole land. There are few jagirdars and thikadars who abstain from such oppressions; generally speaking they are all good-for-nothing fellows as respects the welfare of the Kôls; they do nothing; they have only one aim, to become rich and then to oppress, and pauperise the Kôls. They never do anything for schools and hospitals.

A law suit is so expensive, that it is almost impossible for the poor man to carry on his cause and to obtain his rights through the Courts of Justice; and if they obtain a decree, it is just as difficult to get it enforced. In a certain village while the Christians were cutting rice in 1866, they were attacked by the jagirdar, who is a Brahmin, and by a band of lathiyals, who drove the Christians away from the field, broke the arm of one of them with a stick and carried away all the rice. The Christians came to Ranchi, and the man with the broken arm was brought into the hospital and treated by the European doctor. When witnesses were called for, at first no one ventured to come forward and give evidence, for the Brahmin had threatened to cut the crop of every one who dared to do so. Nevertheless, some witnesses finally came forward and told what had happened, but while they were still at Ranchi, the jagirdar cut their crop. After having committed this robbery, he appeared, suborned evidence, and gained the victory. Money had to be given to the Christians in order to enable them to sow their rice again.

This horrible state is a great hinderance to the propagation of the kingdom of God, as every one is afraid of the consequences of embracing Christianity. The zemindar knows very well that all those who become Christians are no longer in his nets. The Christians do not improve in their worldly welfare, and can do little for schools and public worship, but they are getting poorer from year to year, and life is so embittered to them, that some very naturally wish to leave the country in order to find elsewhere a place of rest.

A widow to whom the village of——belonged, died after having already received the ground-rent for the whole year. Now the village became the property of the Thakur to whom the whole District belongs. The Thakur sent his headman immediately and demanded the whole ground-rent again, and even twice as much as the villagers formerly gave. Then the Thakur leased the village to a merchant, and this mahajan increased the ground-rent again, and demanded twice as much as had been paid before. The villagers were forced to build for him, and to cultivate his fields without payment. In consequence of this oppression twenty Christian and forty heathen families were reported by some Catechists to have left the village. This statement was declared to be untrue; and a native officer was ordered to investigate the matter. This man went there, *was the guest of the thakadar* and returned with the report that there was the highest order in the village and no trace of any oppression. It ultimately appeared, when the names of those that had emigrated were taken down, that twelve families had left the village.

This state of things went on increasing in virulence, and leading to apprehensions of another insurrection. The Report of the Chôta Nagpur Mission in 1867 confirmed it by the following statement :—

“ For many years a regular system of oppression has been carried on by the zemindars, who by every possible means try to drive the Kôls out of their possessions. From year to year, the confusion and distress increases, and if the present state of affairs is not soon altered, the Kôls must either perish, or emigrate *en masse*. In last November and December, in more than sixty villages, all the rice of the Native Christians was cut by the zemindars, and there is not the least hope that any of the zemindars will be punished, or that a handful of the grain will be restored.”

“ In other places where the Christians had cut their own crops, they were caught, beaten and imprisoned, and in several places

not only the crops, but the whole of their property, was taken away. How this calamity will end, only God knows; but we are sure that this confusion and distress is the principal cause why the village schools have hitherto been so unsuccessful. The nine schools contained 162 boys and girls, of whom 106 were children of Native Christian Kôls, the others were Hindus and Mahomedans."\*

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\* A Christian man, an elder in a Kol village, who maintains a school-master at his own expense, represented lately to a Missionary that he had escaped from three enemies who attacked him—a wild boar, a bear and a tiger; but a fourth came, the worst of all—the zemindar, who grants no receipts for rent, and if a ryot asks for one, drags him into Court for not having paid for three years, who encourages drinking in the hopes that the Bhuinhars would sell their lands for drink. The zemindars at an early period felt that Christianity was their foe. In 1859, one of them, presented a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in which he states, "This Missionary in distinct terms holds out hopes to the ignorant tribe of Kôls of getting their claims to lands decreed by his interest with the authorities, and thus continues daily to practice a deception, the most abominable in its character, by taking numbers of Kôls into his premises maintained for the purpose, and making them Christians by causing them to drink a little quantity of water prepared by repeating some mysterious word upon it." This Zemindar was perhaps ignorant that the Government Authorities were well acquainted with the iniquities of the Zemindari system. The Government archives give full proof of it. In the Selection from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XX, Mr. Ricketts, then Member of the Board of Revenue, reported in 1854:—

"The Zemindars in Manbhûm like to be surrounded with and to live segregated, seeing no one but their slavish followers and their wives.

"Though there was no complaint preferred to me, there seems reason to apprehend, that the people of the District, the Coles, suffer much injustice at the hands of the foreign middlemen introduced by the Rajah, their Zemindar. Dr. Davidson who was a person of much intelligence, and studied the condition of the Province with much attention, writing in 1839, says, —'In point of fact, there was no regular Police or administration of Justice in Nagpore till the present Agency was established in 1834; that they (the Coles) are frequently imposed on by their land-holders is not for want of comprehension, but that they have been so long completely left to their mercies, and so entirely deprived of any protection from them, that it is difficult for them to make up their minds to resist.' Major Hanuynghton now tells me that —'In Chota Nagpore the Bhooi has lands which exist in every village, but they have been exposed to the rapacity of the middlemen, aliens who are hated by the people, and who, to obtain these lands, spare no species of force or fraud; against these our Courts do not afford any facile remedy, and the day may not be distant when the people, goaded beyond endurance, may take the law into their own hands.

"To protect these under-tenures is therefore not only as a duty important, but it is also essential to the permanent tranquillity of the country. For this end, it would be necessary to ascertain what the tenures chiefly

This statement was plain and outspoken, worthy of the countrymen of that Baron Stein, who, after the Prussians had expelled the French from German soil, said to the nobles: "Gentlemen, through the blood of the peasants we have recovered our liberty, and now the peasant must have his by being made a proprietor of the soil. You must, therefore, for the good of the common weal, give up your aristocratic monopoly in the land." They did so, and fortunately, for Prussian peasant proprietorship had much to do with her winning the battle of Sadowa.

But the German Missionaries found it difficult to secure the sympathy of Englishmen on this point of the land tenure. Besides the standing objection as to its being a political question, (as if Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, the prophets and James in his Epistle, had not propounded subjects as parts

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'are and how far they should be recognized: this being done, and the result made known by authority, the Courts would do the rest: the inquiries would demand some time and care and caution, but it is practicable, and in the end would requite any labour that might be bestowed on it.'

"This evidence from a very intelligent Officer, who has been many years in the Province, appears to me to be deserving of much attention. I have shown in another place, that alien Omlah monopolize all the public offices; that though Dr. Davidson declares that 'the Coles are an intelligent people, as much, if not more so, than the laboring class of any part of India which I have visited.' they have been, with very few exceptions, regarded by the authorities as unfit to run with message or carry a spear. With alien farmers, alien Omlah, and alien subordinates in all Departments over them, doubtless the Coles must have much to endure. \* \* \* \* \*

"It appears to be Major Hannyngton's wish, that the nature of all classes of middle tenures should be inquired into and recorded, and the rights of those whose ancestors cleared the lands so defined that the Courts should have no difficulty in protecting them against the encroachments of the Zemindar and his Ticcadars or alien farmers. Major Hannyngton says, that 'the mischief done in Manbhoom is irreparable, that all improvement has utterly ceased, the ancient groves are fast disappearing, and the wastes remain unreclaimed, for no one will undertake labour, the fruits of which would assuredly be wrested from him.' \* \* \* \* \*

"Immediate settlement under Regulation VII of 1822, the Zemindar remaining in possession, might be of some avail, but it cannot be concealed that it must be a hopeless contest between a middleman of any degree and a Zemindar in charge of the Police. However carefully his rights may have been ascertained and recorded, if the Zemindar Darogah is resolved he shall go, he must go; his ruin may be effected in a hundred ways, and if he resist, will be effected, though the Officer in charge of the District be his friend."



of Christian and Bible dogmas, which are in the highest and truest sense political), they were met by the English view, or rather error, on tenure. Feudalism so pervades English opinion and the English constitution since the Norman Conquest, that it is very difficult for an ordinary Englishman to understand what is familiar to other parts of the world. The Slavonic races of Russia brought with them, from the regions of the Oxus, that noble village-system, which has been such a shield to the peasant against the aggression of landlordism. The Russians now return to the Oxus with that same village-system, the base of their rights and the germ of constitutional liberty: it was a similar principle, the tribal right in land possessed from time immemorial by the New Zealanders, which led the aborigines there to fight with the feudal English in defence of their ancestral possessions. In Ireland, under the Brehon laws, the tribal right in land was exercised, and the chief was the mere nominee of the peasantry. All through ancient India this village-system runs, and, as Lord Metcalfe points out, has been the basis of the ryot's security. Alas! Moslem and English feudalism have in many cases swept it away; but the authorities are awaking to a sense of its importance as a training-school for self-government, and the time is near when peasant proprietorship, which has worked such wonders on the continent of Europe, will extend its benevolent influences through England and India.

The Kôls, notwithstanding the lapse of ages since they settled in their present territory, have maintained the germ of this village-system. Their headman is called *manki*. When they came as colonists to the wilds of Chôta Nagpore, they reclaimed the soil and acted on Menu's principle, "The cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it;" hence they all claimed equal rights in the soil, but as they made provision for the support of the heads of villages, so they did for the chief. When Christianity began to spread among the Kôls, a stronger impulse was given to this sentiment of their rights in the soil. Christianity, wherever its vital principles have operated, has always been a germ, not only of religious but also of civil liberty. The Church, originally constituted as a series of municipalities or petty republics, fostered this idea; hence genuine Christianity, whether we look at the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages or the United States of America, has ever been at war with feudalism and serfdom. So it is in Bengal, and the zemindars know well that Christianity is their bitterest foe. To use

their own proverb, it is a contest between "the snake and the ichneumon." As early as 1859, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, writing to the Commissioner of Chôta Nagpore, states: "Until lately, no effectual opposition has been offered by the ignorant Kôls to the absorption of these tenures. Recently however, some native converts of this class, being better informed, and more independent than their fellows, have successfully resisted the encroachments of the zemindars, and this has not only encouraged others to maintain their own existing rights, but has induced some to seek by force restitution to rights of which their families have for long periods been dispossessed, or to claim the same rights in lands in their occupation to which no similar privileges are, or ever have been, attached. In some way or another, success in prosecuting this opposition to the zemindars has come to be associated in the minds of these simple people with the assumption of the name of Christians, and thus the contest which has been going on has been represented as one between the Native Christians and zemindars, though there is reason to suppose that not a few of those engaged in it attach no other meaning to the term Christians than designating the party opposed to the zemindars."

So it has continued in an increasing ratio in Chôta Nagpore, and the Commissioner admits it.\* He states:—

"It has been commonly remarked that when matters came to issue between the "simple Kôl" and the zemindar, or foreign farmer, the Kôl had no chance, and indeed he appeared to think so himself, for he seldom sought redress; † but the Kôls who embraced Christianity imbibed more independent notions, and in several instances successfully asserted their rights. From this the belief unfortunately spread through the District that when Kôls go to Court as Christians, they are more uniformly successful than those are who have not changed their religion. Mainly in consequence of this impres-

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\* Letter to Government, dated the 25th March 1859.

† As late as 1854 Ricketts reported to Government that in the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen of Hazareebagh, the average time a case remained pending was eleven months and twenty-seven days; in the Court of the Moonsiff of Hazareebagh, one year five months and twenty-seven days; in the Court of the Moonsiff of Chittra, nine months and nine days; in the Court of the Moonsiff of Kurruck-dea, ten months and three days." A poor chance for redress with such delays.

'sion, they suffered much persecution from their landlords during the absence of the authorities after the mutiny, and were almost all plundered. On the restoration of order, they obtained through the Relief Fund a considerable sum to meet their pressing necessities, and this was considered as another clear indication of their being a class highly favoured by the authorities.

"The proceedings of this new band of agitators, calling themselves Christians, have thoroughly imbued all parties concerned with the conviction that investigation is necessary, and I have no fear of the result being otherwise than satisfactory.

"I am not prepared at present to recommend any interference with the Beygarree system referred to in the 17th paragraph of Captain Davies' letter. I have not heard that any portion of the people complain against it, except the Christians, and I do not consider they should be encouraged in the spirit of opposition to their landlords that they have lately shown."

The Senior Assistant Commissioner of Lohardugga in a letter to the Commissioner of Chôta Nagpur, dated 15th March 1859, writes:—"Since the establishment of the German Mission at Chôta Nagpore, as might have been expected, the spread of Christianity has been confined chiefly to these simple Kôls, and with Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil, which rights in many instances they have asserted and established: this, independent of other causes, which induce the higher castes of Natives to view with displeasure the spread of Christianity, caused great alarm amongst the landholders and farmers, who were not slow to use against these converts every means of persecution they could safely venture on, but with no other effect than the spread of conversion.

"During the disturbances which followed the mutiny of the Ramghur Battalion in August 1857, the zemindars, &c., taking advantage of the absence of the authorities, oppressed and plundered the whole of the native converts, many of whom preserved their lives only by seeking, with their families, the protection of the jungles. On the restoration of order, the zemindars, apparently afraid of what they had done, ceased to molest them for a time; and as they received assistance from the Relief Fund to enable them to cultivate their lands, they assumed an independence which irritated the landholders; and when the time came for cutting the rice crops for the past year, they again came into collision.

“ In the meantime the number of new converts in this and the adjoining Pergunnahs of Bussea, Belcuddee, and Dooesa, all unbaptized, had greatly increased. Whether these conversions resulted from conscientious or other motives, it is not my province to enquire, though, from what I shall presently state, I fear they must, in many instances, be attributed to the latter.

“ In the month of October last Baboo Seebnarain Sae, a zemindar of this Pergunnah, proceeded to the village of Jhapra, in which and several adjoining villages a great number of the recent converts reside, ostensibly to collect his rent. The Christians assert that he seized and oppressed several of them, demanding dues he was not entitled to ; on which the Christians of all the surrounding villages assembled to resist these proceedings, and there was an affray, in which the zemindar and his people were driven out of the village, the Christians capturing his horses, &c., and two men brought them to me at Ranchie, lodging a complaint against the zemindar. This was the commencement of all the recent disturbances. I treated the cases as one of ordinary affray, intending to proceed against both parties. Immediately after this I made over my office to Mr. George, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, and proceeded to Palamow.

“ The Sub-Assistant Commissioner, who was new to the office and unacquainted with the people, owing to the absence of the parties in the case, struck it off his file. Of this I was not aware till my return the other day from Palamow. Emboldened apparently by this, other zemindars appear to have attempted to corce the Christians, which was successfully resisted by the latter and their relatives amongst the Kôls, and thus disorder prevailed more or less throughout the Pergunnah, and in many instances the nominal Christians of this and Pergunnahs Bussea, Belcuddee, and Dooesa, taking advantage of this confusion, forcibly re-possessed themselves of lands claimed as their Bhoônearec, of which they undoubtedly had been out of possession for periods varying from ten years up to one or two generations, and extorted refunds of the value of property of which they alleged the Ticcadars and Zemindars plundered them during the disturbances, or of which they asserted that merchants and others had defrauded them. Many of these claims I believe to have had some foundation, though others were doubtless fictitious.”

“ Besides the affray above noticed, the only serious one which has occurred in this Pergunnah was in November last. In this

“case Anund Sing, Jagheerdar of Bala, assisted by others, amongst them some servants of Thakoor Judurnath Sae, Illaquadar of Police, attempted to coerce his ryots of that village, and many of whom are nominally Christians; they, assisted by those of adjacent villages, opposed force to force; an affray ensued, and two men were killed on the side of the Jagheerdar; three men, one a servant of the Thakoor, and a horse belonging to another one, besides some arms, were captured and taken by the Christians to the Sub-Assistant Commissioner to Ranchie, together with the body of one of the men slain in the affray, and there lodged their complaints.”

He thus mentions the case of a zemindar who was a Magistrate. “This weak and effeminate man in the hands of the people about him” on hearing of an affray near Gobindpore in 1859 between the landholders and Christians, shut himself up in his house through fear, though his own people took part in it. “Acting on a Perwannah received from the Sub-Assistant Commissioner, he assembled his Jagheerdars with their followers, numbering not less than 200 people, ostensibly to assist the Police. These, with his subordinate Police Officers, proceeded to several villages, apprehended the whole of the Christians and their relatives, and carried them off to the Thakoor’s house, where some, against whom false accusations of dacoity and plunder had been preferred, were thrown into the stocks, and the houses of many of the Christians were plundered by the Jagheerdars’ followers in the village of Jhubra. The Christians, seeing the approach of this force, all fled, so the party contented themselves with setting fire to the house of one of the Christians, containing a quantity of grain, &c. I myself visited the spot, and found the blackened ruins and burnt grain.

“In more than one instance the Illaquadar of Police has been guilty of detaining prisoners in his own custody for a most unwarrantable time. On my arrival I found at his house, which is in fact the Thannah, a man who had been in confinement for one month, and this man, a Christian, is the owner of the house at Jhubra which had been burnt, as noticed in the preceeding paragraph; probably he would not have been then sent to me, had I not issued a peremptory order for all prisoners under trial being forwarded without delay. To make matters worse, a false entry was made in the calendar, to the effect that the man had been apprehended only three days before he was sent to me. It is not difficult to guess why this poor man was detained so long; and when I came to enquire

“into the charge against him, I found there was no evidence whatever tending to implicate him.

“Immediately on my arrival at Govindpore, a complaint was made against the Illaquadar of Police that he had allowed a prisoner to be so maltreated while in confinement that he died under it. The fact of this case I find to be that the unfortunate man did die whilst in confinement in the stocks and with handcuffs on. I caused the body to be exhumed, and found the latter still on it. The Illaquadar reported the death to have occurred from natural causes, and of course had plenty of witnesses to prove it. On the other hand, the companions of the deceased all declare that he died from ill-usage and want of food. One thing, however, is clear, the deceased and his companions were illegally detained in the stocks for six days; and if the Illaquadar’s report be true, the poor creature was laid up for five days with fever and a bad cough, and yet he was left to die hand cuffed and with his feet in the stocks; and it would appear that the charge on which he was confined was a false one. This man was also a Christian.”

On that cruel system of *begari* or forced labor by which the ryot was bound to work for the zemindar at any time or every time without compensation, the Senior Assistant Commissioner remarks:—“Another source of irritation to the ryots of these Pergunnahs is the beggarie or forced labor they are bound to give their landholders, as described in Dr. Davidson’s 15th paragraph. If the owners of villages would content themselves with merely what they are entitled to, there would be no discontent, but the instances are rare in which they do so, and the refusal of the Christians to render more than they are bound to do, is another cause of their being persecuted by the landholders. In some villages I have found that the ‘bhutkeyta,’ given nominally as payment for their labor, has been resumed by the owner, who still, however, continues to exact the labor from his ryots. This difficulty there will be no trouble in adjusting, though it is quite impossible effectually to control the proceedings of the landowners, where, as is the case here, their ryots are generally so much in their power that they dare not complain against them; but as Christianity spreads—and spread it inevitably will—the ryots will be able to assert their own rights.”

Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner of Chôta Nagpore, remarks on this subject, in discussing the new Land Tenure Bill in 1868:—

“Section VI.—I consider that this Section (regarding commutation for labor) would, as it stands, prove inoperative.

"The person claiming, and the person liable for the service, are not likely both to agree to the commutation. On the part of the cultivators, I do not doubt that the feeling now is generally in favor of commutation. Since I wrote on this subject in 1859, there has been greater contention about it than existed before that time, owing to increased demand and higher value of labor. This has naturally rendered the cultivator more desirous of evading this liability, and the zemindar or farmer more greedy in demanding it; and it has become a pregnant source of strife. The Native Christians have greatly increased in numbers, and they have acquired an independence that renders compulsory labor peculiarly hateful to them; and as they not only resist themselves, but incite others to resist such demands, they make themselves very obnoxious to the zemindars, and the latter would get rid of them if they could."

At an early period the persecutions of the zemindars attracted the attention of the Missionaries, who published various accounts of them in the *Biene*, a Berlin periodical. One of them writes from Ranchi in November 1856. "We have now been eleven years here. For the last six years the Lord has poured out his blessing; since then we have had much persecution, but never so much as just now, and our enemies confess that it is their intention to drive us out of the land, or to kill us. The zemindars, or large land-proprietors, are our greatest enemies, and they try to hinder the people in every way from embracing Christianity, and after they have embraced it, there is no end of persecuting and plaguing them in every imaginable way. Our Native brethren, in the first instance, invariably come to us to get our counsel. We always admonish them to bear with meekness and forgiveness and patient endurance. But when matters have gone too far, we have permitted them to seek their rights in the courts of law. With great expense of money and time, they have obtained their rights several times, but the gain, as to rest and peace, has been small, as they are still annoyed and plagued continually. All zemindars have united and have sent vakeels and attornies with accusations against us and our Native Christians, and even against the English Judges, to the Civil Court in Calcutta. Twice they have lost their lawsuit, and now they have sent a much more bitter and threatening accusation to the Supreme Government, upon which an order came, some time ago, to send it all documents of every single lawsuit the Chôta Nagpore Christians were concerned in. This

has been done, and we await, with prayer and patience, the issue. \* \* \* \* The other day a poor tenant lodged a complaint against a Brahmin zemindar in his court, on account of cruel treatment and oppression. The Medical Officer being called in as a witness, gave us a description of the transaction. As soon as the guilty Brahmin robber came into the court of his judge to be heard, the honest judge rose from his seat, and in the most humble position, crouching on all fours before the accused Brahmin zemindar, touched and kissed his feet, saying 'Thy blessing, my father,' and after having received his blessing, he put a chair for the accused close to his own, whilst the accuser, the Christian tenant, with his witnesses, had to stand far off at a distance, being treated as if they were the criminals. The crime in this instance was too glaring, the medical man gave evidence as to the dangerous nature of the wounds inflicted, others as to the robbery committed, and the Brahmin zemindar was fined five rupees. This is called justice in India. Our native Christians had frequently to complain before this Native judge against Brahmin zemindars, but invariably they lost their case, as was to be expected, and this happens in the very same court where the English judges sit, but they do not seem able to remedy the evil. The language of the court is Urdu, which our people cannot read or write; it is the language of the Mahomedans, and not of the Hindoos, and the oath was taken on the false God Allah of the Mahomedans; but lately our Christians have been absolved from this, and they swear now a Christian's oath. However, very little is gained by this, as swearing in India is a wholesale business. In every court there are people appointed to administer the oath, most degraded characters who know nothing either of God or of Satan, but only of money. It is quite impossible to form in any way a correct idea of the number of false oaths sworn in one day all over India. A few annas will buy as many false witnesses, and the worst is, all this is known to the rulers of the land, and still they do not attempt even to put a stop to it."

Extract from another letter, dated 2nd December 1856 :—  
"Our burden is very heavy; it weighs one down like lead; it makes one's breath stop and the blood cold. Not a single day passes over our head without bringing us tidings of the most cruel treatment of our Native brethren, and their most systematic persecution. If the Lord did not sustain us and them, no one could endure it. But He is our help and strong tower of defence. To-day the poor sufferers from our villages came in



telling us that their corn had been taken away from their threshing floors before their eyes, and nothing left, and this has been the order of the day for the last month." \*

Had the Bengal peasant half the pluck of the Kôls, boldly to state their complaints, many of the evils existing in the country would be checked; a bridle would be put in the mouth of the zemindar and his agents, and the Government would get better and more direct information. Look at the Orissa famine; a million perished, and the ryots simply lay down and died.

Not so with the Kôls. In 1823, a spirit tax had been imposed on the district which was let out to farmers and occasioned much dissatisfaction, but in 1825 large bodies of Kôls came into the sudder station to state their grievances on the subject, and the result was the abolition of this tax on the domestic brewery. They were driven into a partial insurrection in 1832, in consequence of zemindary and other oppressions. The Government, as soon as the matter was enquired into, removed the Commissioner who had been prophesying smooth things to them, and remedied various evils; leaving however the germ of all still developing itself in zemindary oppression. Two years ago matters were coming to an extremity; the grinding process was in full

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\* We add one instance more from a Missionary's Journal in 1856. "18th October.—A Native Christian from Patargani had his house burnt down, saving nothing but his life and the clothing he wore. 22nd October.—The crops, just sprung up, of a Christian at Chissera, were all ploughed over. The daughter of another Christian was forcibly dragged to the house of the zemindar, made out to be a witch, and maltreated by his servants. 25th October.—A Christian dragged forcibly away from his house and severely beaten. 28th October.—The wife of a Christian maltreated in her own house during the absence of her husband. 31st October.—A Christian cutting his rice is beaten, his sickle and clothing taken from him. 1st November.—The crops of Native Christians cut by servants of the zemindar who is judge, and the father and mother of one of the Christians dragged to the house of the judge, and there beaten and imprisoned. 6th November.—Crops of Christians cut and taken away. 7th November.—The same done in some other villages of the Christians. 12th November.—All the cattle of a Christian forcibly taken away; in another village crops stolen, and so on every day, so that many Christians have nothing left whatever from their crops. 17th November.—At Murphu, the house of a native Christian is plundered, all his corn cut down, and his wife, watching in the field, plundered of clothes and ornaments to the amount of Rs. 20. A Native Christian from another village comes to us for refuge with his child, the people having maltreated him and threatened to kill him; during his absence his house was pulled down, and his mother and child forcibly thrust out of the village. 19th November.—All Christians in Talgawe fined 80 Rs., having been falsely accused of having cut the corn from the fields of the zemindar; two of the accused were not even in the village at the alleged time. They will now have to appeal."

swing; it had been rapidly advancing since the mutiny; but better taught, instead of opposing physical force, the Kôls clubbed together their money, sent down a deputation to Calcutta, and retained a Barrister to plead their cause. They also presented a petition, on September 21st, 1867, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, from which the following is an extract:—

“ That your petitioners, who are an increasing body of Native Christians, have from time immemorial peaceably held and enjoyed lands as ryots of the Rajah, when, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, the said Rajah inaugurated a system of persecution against your petitioners by cutting down their crops and dispossessing them of their ancestral holdings, rights and privileges, thereby entailing on your petitioners considerable loss of moveable and immoveable property.”

This petition was by way of appeal against the order of the Commissioner to whom they had represented their grievances in the following terms:—

“ Your petitioners belong to that large and increasing body of Native Christians who are at present residing in the territory of the Rajah of Chôta Nagpore, and acknowledge him as their Lord Paramount.

“ They amount to the number of about 14,000 souls, and they and their ancestors before them have held lands as ryots of the Rajah for many years.

“ About three years ago, that is to say, about the year of our Lord 1863, a system of persecution was inaugurated by the present Rajah against your petitioners, involving the loss and displacement of their ancient hereditary rights and privileges.

“ Your petitioners humbly bring to your notice, as the Administrator of this large District, that the Rajah of Chôta Nagpore, by the mere exercise of arbitrary power, and contrary to all the rules and laws as to hereditary rights, has from time to time been ejecting your petitioners from their old holdings and homesteads, to their great annoyance and detriment.

“ Your petitioners beg to cite the following instances of oppression on his part with a view to convince your Honor.

“ These oppressions your petitioners have neither the requisite money nor the resources to oppose. They are unable to enter into any protracted litigation which must inevitably entail heavy expense on them.

“ Your petitioners therefore throw themselves altogether on your Honor, and seek your Honor's protection as the general

“ Administrator of the District, and which they are bold enough  
 “ to assert that they have a right to claim as Her Imperial  
 “ Majesty’s subjects. The grievance is becoming general and  
 “ widespread.

“ The instances alluded to are as follow :—

“ Mussee Doss, of the village Goudeebaghee, in the Zillah of  
 “ Lohardugga, in Chôta Nagpore, one of the native converts,  
 “ and who, previous to his conversion, was known by the name of  
 “ Barissa-Buxar, has been ejected by the Rajah’s orders from the  
 “ lands which his grandfather and father have held before him, and  
 “ which used to bring him on an average an income of about 30 ru-  
 “ pees a month, besides supporting himself and his family. When  
 “ the Rajah was remonstrated with about this forcible ejection,  
 “ he said that as they had become Christians, they had lost all  
 “ their right to the lands, and that he would take them. An-  
 “ other sufferer, a man of note formerly among the natives, is  
 “ Eleazar, of the village of Koolee, Pergunnah Klookrah, Zillah  
 “ of Lohardugga, and numerous others. When unable to take the  
 “ lands away from them, and to eject them altogether, they  
 “ persecuted them by destroying their corps, huts, and every-  
 “ thing they possibly could destroy. As late as the 21st instant,  
 “ one Gopaul Shaw, a Theekadar of the Rajahs, entered into  
 “ the lands of a native convert called Nohash, residing in the  
 “ village of Nuggra, in the Zillah of Lohardugga, and being  
 “ unable to eject him altogether, destroyed four crops of paddy  
 “ belonging to the convert. Cases of this kind are very  
 “ numerous, and it is daily, if not hourly, that some native  
 “ convert finds all his paddy and crops totally destroyed.

“ Another of the means of persecution is carried on by means  
 “ of the collection of the revenues. The party appointed to collect,  
 “ goes round, collects the revenue, and refuses point blank to  
 “ give a receipt for the same, asserting that there are no receipts  
 “ given for revenue. A short time after, they make a second  
 “ demand ; and when met with the information that they have  
 “ already paid, the receipt is demanded, and owing to the cause  
 “ hereinbefore mentioned, they are unable to produce the same,  
 “ and are then informed that they must pay ; and as in many cases  
 “ they are unable to do so, the huts are pulled down and their  
 “ crops and chattels are taken away, and they are beaten and  
 “ imprisoned.

“ Furthermore, your petitioners beg to bring to your notice  
 “ another of their grounds of complaint. The Theekadars ex-  
 “ act far more rent than they are entitled to receive, and not

"merely rent for lands held by the converts under a rent payable to the Rajah, but also for lands that have been held rent-free by them and their ancestors from time immemorial; and when by their demands they are unable to obtain the amount asked for, they resort to forcible means, and sell the houses, &c., till, to prevent their losing their all, they (the converts) are compelled to submit to these exactions. Your petitioners are therefore desirous that some means should be taken to set out definitely and clearly the boundaries of the rent-free lands, and so distinguish them from the lands liable to rent to the Rajah; that in future neither Theekadars nor Collectors shall be able to dispute their rights to a free and peaceable possession of their ancestral holdings; and furthermore, that the customary rate or *nirik* of the district should be fixed. Your petitioners are likewise desirous of paying the revenue into the Collectorate without the intervention of the Theekadars, as there are no other means by which they can be saved the annoyance and oppression of paying their rent twice over."\*

This peaceful agitation has produced good effects, and has led to a speedy redressing of evils. The local authorities and Government had their attention kept alive to the subject, and

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\* Mr. Batsch, the Senior Missionary of Chôta Nagpore, in a letter to the Deputy Commissioner, 15th November 1867, writes:—

"But I have to state that, in my opinion, the Kôls, especially the Bhooinhars, and not only the Native Christians, are fearfully oppressed and wronged in different Pergunnahs by many of the Jagheerdars and Theekadars, and that very often in such cases of oppression the Police act not as they ought to do.

"These oppressions and sufferings of the Kôls are, as mentioned, closely connected with the Bhooinhari question which is not at all rightly stated and set forth in the petition. The Kôls, Moondaries and Uraons, are the aborigines of the District. In ancient times they had no Kings and no Chiefs, and were divided into families, and kept together by their "Porhas" or Conferences. The fields they had cleared and prepared were their own; yet the whole land belonged to them. After a time a part of these Uraons and Moondaries, in the now so-called Bhooinhari patti of Chôta Nagpore, chose a King and for his maintenance gave him a grant in land, *viz.*, half of the fields of each village. The better half the Kôls kept for themselves as their own, and of this they retained possession without paying any rent for it till the establishment of the British Courts in this District in 1832. From that time the oppressions count. The Theekadars try by all means to make ryots of the Bhooinhars, to make them pay full rent, or to turn them out of their fields. They are not content with the full rent; but they make the Kôls pay any tax which they like to put upon them, and there seems to be no limit to their rapacity and cruelty. Though there are yet many Bhooinhars who pay not yet any rent, and who possess their estates yet intact, that number becomes smaller from

after a lengthened correspondence with the Commissioner and others, the Government of Bengal, on the 26th May 1868, addressed a letter to the Government of India, proposing a law for the registration of tenures, regretting that the registration begun in 1860, after registering the claims in 429 villages, was suspended in August 1862 by the death of the Special Commissioner. The Government admit that "this uncertainty of tenure keeps certain parts of the districts in dangerous excitement."

The tenure-system of Chôta Nagpore is rather complicated. The following is the explanation given by the Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, August 29th 1839 :—

"PARA. 13—I now proceed to treat of the respective rights of the landholders or their Theekadars and of the Kôls. In a village in Nagpore the following descriptions of land are almost always met with :—

"I.—*Rajhas*, or the land paying rent to the owner or his representatives.

"II.—*Bethkhetâ*, a certain portion of the *Rajhas*, which each ryot, not a *Bhunear*, is allowed to cultivate free of rent, and for which he performs various services to the landlord, or his representatives, such as thatching his house, cultivating the *Majhas*, &c. The *Bethkhetâ* allowed to each ryot is generally sufficient to sow from 20 seers to one maund of seed.

"III.—The *Jageers* of the *Mahto*, *Pahan*, and *Bhundaree*, which they have free of rent, on performance of certain services to be hereafter described.

"IV.—*Majhas*, or ground allotted to the landlord or his Theekadars, which is cultivated chiefly by the ryots in return for their *Bethkhetâ* and *Bhuneari*. This is subject to great abuse, and requires regulation to be hereafter described.

"V.—Land held rent-free by the original clearers of the same or their descendants ; it is called *Rhoonearee*, *Bybulla*, *Arecuot*, *Khootkutty*, in different parts of the country. The holders of this land in general pay no rent, but are bound

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year to year. Others who formerly had six to eight ploughs in the fields, possess perhaps now only one or even only half a beegah of land. Thousands of *Bhooinhars* have already lost their all, and are paupers, coolies, vagrants, &c., without any home at all.

"As long as this *Bhooinhari* question is not settled, the complaints will not cease, and the *Bhooinhars* will be oppressed and wronged and robbed of their fields and crops, and turned out of their homes and villages, till they all either perish or emigrate."

“ to accompany the landholders or their Theekadars on journeys  
 “ carrying their bhangies, and to cultivate their Majhas  
 “ ground ; also to thatch and build their houses, &c., without pay-  
 “ ment. In some parts of the country this description of land  
 “ pays a rent, but never more than half the rate of the village.  
 “ In general, however, it does not pay rent.

“ VI.—*Bhutkheta*, or rent-free land, the produce of which  
 “ is appropriated for the performance of poojas. Part of this,  
 “ called Dalikhetari, is given up to the Paln of the village ; the  
 “ rest is cultivated by the ryots ; but the produce of the whole  
 “ is appropriated to poojas.

“ VII.—The above applies to the rice-field, or Doon, to every  
 “ powa of which a certain portion of Doon or dry cultivation  
 “ land is attached. If ryots cultivate more than they are entitled  
 “ to, the general rule is to pay rent in kind, i. e., the same quan-  
 “ tity of grain is paid as rent as the quantity of seed sown.  
 “ This is called Maswur.

“ 14. The Theekadar or owner of this village has no right  
 “ whatever, by the established custom of Nagpore, to take a  
 “ higher rent from the cultivators of the Rajhas than they have  
 “ been in the custom of paying ; nor can he turn out an old  
 “ cultivator as long as he is willing and able to pay his rent. The  
 “ contrary to this is often done, and from ignorance or timidity  
 “ submitted to by the ryots ; but every unprejudiced person  
 “ allows it is contrary to justice and the custom of the country.

“ 15. The acknowledged fair labour that the Kôls are  
 “ obliged to give the Theekadar or landowner for their Bethkheta  
 “ and Bhoonearee is three days' ploughing, three days' work with  
 “ the Kori or Kodal, three days' work in planting rice, and the  
 “ same at cutting it ; to bring grass and bamboos and thatch to  
 “ their houses, and occasionally, when on a journey, to carry their  
 “ bhangies. All this the Kôls acknowledge to be due from  
 “ them, and they are most willing to perform it. I never heard  
 “ two opinions on the subject from the Kôls. But it is very  
 “ much abused. Some proprietors or Theekadars are in the  
 “ habit of cultivating a large piece of land as Majhas, and taking  
 “ forced labour to an unlimited extent to cultivate it ; in fact,  
 “ having no measure in their demands upon the Kôls until their  
 “ Majhas is all cultivated. This the Kôls complain against ;  
 “ and in all cases, when proved, I have punished the offenders  
 “ severely : but the system has in some places gone on so long  
 “ that they are able to plead custom in many instances, and at  
 “ first sight apparently with some reason, till one reflects that the

“ poor Kôls have all this time been submitting to be plundered of their labour, because they did not know how to get redress.

“ 17. The Bhoonearee lands above alluded to exist in every village in Nagpore. They are held rent-free by the Bhoonears or descendants of the original clearers of the land on the terms above stated in Clause 5, paragraph 13, of this letter. If the Bhoonears die without heirs, or leave the village, the owner takes possession of his land, and includes it in his Rajhas, till the Bhoonear or his heirs return, when they are entitled to receive back their Bhoonearee land on the old tenure. The owners of the villages often resort to ill-usage or false complaints against the Bhoonears to induce them to leave the village, and at any subsequent time, on their wishing to return, refuse to restore their lands. This is a great injustice according to all Nagpore ideas, for, by the old custom of the country, the Bhoonear has an undoubted right to receive back his lands, whenever he or his heirs return.

“ 18. On occasions of this sort, the Bhoonear often comes to this Court to complain. He is in general poor, and gives in a petition on plain paper. The zemindar denies his right, states he is at all events out of possession, and, quoting the Regulation, desires the Bhoonear may be referred to a regular suit. I often succeed in settling the case by a compromise or a punchayet, but at times the zemindar stands out, when I am compelled to dismiss the Bhoonear's complaint, referring him to a regular suit. This, under the circumstances of the case, and with reference to the uncivilized nature of the Bhoonears, is a great hardship,

“ 19. The value the Bhoonears attach to their land is very great: nothing will ever reconcile them to be deprived of it. They are always buried in the villages where their Bhoonearee lands are situated, and even if they die at a distance, their heirs consider it a necessary act of piety to transport their bones to their own village, that they may be buried in the Hursali, or burying-ground of the village. The disturbances in Nagpore of 1832, were caused by no one cause so much as the dispossession of the Moondas and Mankies, who are the Bhoonears of Sonapore of their lands: and until the Bhoonears are protected in the possession of their lands, we never can be certain of the peace of the country. For these reasons I would strongly recommend that you should authorize the Assistants of the Division to investigate all cases for dispossession of Bhoonearee lands as a miscellaneous case, and

“ when satisfied of the justice of the Bhoonear’s claim, and that  
“ he has not been more than twenty years out of possession, to  
“ decree in his favour, and give him possession, allowing the  
“ opposite party to appeal to you. A reference to a regular  
“ suit is not at all applicable to a Kôl ; and if so ordered, in nine  
“ out of ten cases, the powerful zemindars will thereby be able  
“ to defeat the poor Bhoonears.”

The 23rd of January 1869 will be a memorable day in the annals of Chôta Nagpore, for, on that day, 37 years after the Kôl insurrection, the Legislative Council of Bengal passed the Bill entitled the Chota Nagpore Tenures Bill, the *Magna Charta* of the Kôls. The Preamble recites :— “ Whereas from a very early time certain tenures have existed in Chôta Nagpore, known as Bhuinhari, held by persons claiming to be descendants of the original founders of the villages in which such lands are situated, or their assigns ; and also certain similar tenures known as Bhut-Kheta, Dâli-Kâtâri and Pâhnâi, consisting of lands set apart for the duties which the village “ Pâhan,” or Priest is required to perform and for his maintenance, and also other similiar tenures known as “ Mahtoai,” consisting of lands allotted to the village Mahto, or collector of rents ; and whereas, where the above tenures are found, there are also lands known as Majhahas, reserved for the use of the respective proprietors of the villages, and at their absolute disposal, and also lands known as Bhet-Khetâ, ordinarily assigned as remuneration to the villagers who work for the proprietor or his assigns on the Majhahas land : and whereas disputes have arisen rendering it desirable that these tenures should be defined and recorded, and a register made of all rights, privileges, immunities, and liabilities affecting the holders thereof.” Special Commissioners are appointed to investigate, record and register the tenures in the village itself before the heads of the village ; and power is given to restore persons wrongfully dispossessed : the occupation of lands to be registered must have commenced 20 years before the passing of the Act ; no forced labor shall be required, but a money commutation shall be given ; appeals shall not be heard after three months from the date of the decision : the decision in other cases being final : no Mukhtar or Vakeel shall be employed except with the consent of the Special Commissioner ; and petitions shall not be subject to stamp duty.

The Act is now at work. An able and impartial native gentleman, Babu Rakhal Das Halidar, well known for his enlightened



views and for his practical illustration of them in paying a visit to England, is appointed Special Commissioner to carry out the law for registering the tenures. The two points to be secured are, that the Kôls are not hindered by zemindary intrigues from coming forward to register, and that they be induced to abandon their visionary claim of a right to half the land from time immemorial.

Had this registration Act been passed when we first took the country, what innumerable evils might have been prevented? The best illustration of this is contained in our second part—The Kôl Insurrection of 1832.

It scarcely deserves the name of an Insurrection when a body of men, goaded by the apparent want of redress, rose not against Government but against the zemindars, seeking "the wild justice of revenge." They almost invariably fled before the soldiers, few as they were. Bush-fighting was their only resort; and their chiefs soon flocked in to swear allegiance on the tiger's skin. In few places did they stand to engage in action; their plan was bush-fighting,—easy work in the dense jungles. There was one exception, however. Bagat Sing, the leader of the Kôls, fell, with his seven sons, fighting in his own village. Three brigades of field artillery, a regiment of cavalry from Benares, and five regiments of infantry were all the troops called out. Had mere plunder been the object of the Kôls, they would have crossed the Subunreka into a rich country abounding with *loot*.

The Luskar Kôls, however, committed some depredations. The Raja of Nagpore was also implicated. Of an old Rajput family from Marwar numbering 65 generations, he had long sought to bring the Kôls under the sway of feudalism. Even as early as 1820, Major Roughsedge had to interfere in this respect. The Raja, at the time of the insurrection, addressed a long letter to Government in defence of his rights, representing the Kôls as "low caste, turbulent wretches, in person like men, but in mind like wild beasts." According to him, they had no ground for complaint; he thinks he is treated very hard at not having the Police under him, or not getting the property of all Jagirdars who die without heirs; while the latter with their perverted understanding do not understand the meaning of *dâm* and *kâm* (money and labor they owe him); they forget he is descended from Mukund Rao Raja, whose line, for 1700 years, has been continued through 60 generations. \*

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\* The Raja of Nagpore's income is about a lakh of Rupees annually. His Estate is about 100 miles long, containing between 4000 and 5000 square miles.

The first information of the insurrection was received about the middle of December 1831. It began in those quarters where the rents had been raised ; it was small at first, but the ball gathered as it rolled. As in the mutiny, many joined it from fear, in the absence of any adequate means of protection against the consequences of refusal. The first intimation of disturbances came from Koer Hurnath Sha of Govindpore, in a petition, received on the 30th December, setting forth that four of his villages of Sonapur had been burnt and plundered, and two of their inhabitants wounded.

This attack was made by a party of Lurka Kôls of Singbhum joined by some discontented Kôls of Sonapur and Nagpore, on villages at present in the possession of some Mussulman Theekadars, but which formerly belonged to some Mankis and Moondas, who had been dispossessed by Koer Hurnath some years previous. It is generally supposed that the outrages would have been confined to Sonapore, had not Begynaul Manki, an influential man amongst the Mankis, been apprehended by the Nazir as being concerned in the outrages.

In January 1832 Mr. R. Kean, the Acting Magistrate, reported :—"The insurgents are stated variously to amount to from 1,000 to 1,200 men, but they will in all probability have increased by the time your force will have reached them ; they are possessed of no arms, but bows and arrows and axes, in the use of which they are exceedingly expert, and they further possess the advantage of fastnesses in the hills to which they retire, and to discharge them is a task of great difficulty."

The insurrection soon numbered a force of 4,000 men, who went on plundering and burning until Captain Wilkinson and the Commissioner came up with 100 men of the Ramghur battalion, accompanied by one gun. On the 14th February, Captain Impey with 5 companies of Sepoys surprised Sillagaon, killed Bhagat Sing, one of the Kôl leaders, along with seven of his sons, and took his wife prisoner. His followers fought desperately, and 150 of them fell. On the previous day an action had taken place in the neighbourhood, when several Kôl villages were burnt down by the troops.

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The net revenue it pays is only Rs. 15,041 settled in perpetuity ! The Rajas of the Nagbunsi race fixed their residence at the town of Chuttia (erroneously spelled Chôta) in consequence of a Brahmin of Benares discovering on the banks of a tank in the town of Sathoseo a child guarded or shaded by a Nág, or Cobra, and which he presented to the people as their King. A similar legend is told of the Raja of Bishenpore.

The insurrection continued to spread to Ramghur, Tori, and Palamow Pergunnahs, in the shape of plundering villages. But there was in one case an unfortunate misconception. An officer of the 50th N. I. wrote on February 24th, that on the 8th instant a body of Kôls presented themselves, but they were considered as enemies and 60 of them were killed. On the 9th and 10th they reappeared, but were driven away as before ; on the 11th they presented themselves again. This officer at last suspected they wanted to say something, and knowing a little of the language, he beckoned to them, when they approached, tendered their submission and fell at his feet. They told him that on the first day they had come to tender submission, having no complaint to make against Government.

At Bali Nagar on the 21st of February a sharp engagement took place ; the insurgents numbered at Salburne 8,000, and endeavoured to occupy the Chatna Pass, and so cut off the retreat of the troops to their camp. They poured from this Pass a galling fire from arrows, matchlocks and other missile on the cavalry, by which 7 men and 2 horses were killed, and 5 men and 6 horses were wounded ; the insurgents lost 400 men. The troops then on the 24th attacked Sunhattee, when the Kôls fled ; but at the request of the Rajah's dewan, they burnt down the village ; on the 25th they attacked and burnt Humpta ; the insurgents fled, but at the request of the Banda Rajah the village was burnt down. At Banda one of the insurgent leaders was taken, as he was too fat to run along with the rest. Shrapnells did great execution at this time.

About this period the Chuars had taken Chota Nagpore and unroofed all the houses ; but the head of the insurrection was broken. The zemindars and Rajahs who, by their grinding oppression of the poor had been the chief causes of the insurrection, now came forward, on the principle of "cut my head and give me a plaister," to volunteer their services, and poor enough they were. These men knew how to bear muskets, but when they had to face an enemy, they generally fled.\*

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\* About the period of the outbreak of the Kôls there was another of Mahomedans at Baraset, near Calcutta, under the leadership of one Titu Miyan. He had been for 14 years in the Jessore Jail ; he subsequently became a follower and sirdar of the well-known Syed Ahmed, whom he accompanied to Mecca. When the Syed was in the Punjab, Titu Miyan remained in the Sunderbuns, where he had a body of 3,000 followers, all living by plunder. One thing that swelled their ranks was the conduct of a Brahmin Zemindar, Rutun Kant Roy. Finding some Musalmans had gone to his village and killed a cow, he determined to

This insurrection, or rather *Jacquerie*, lasted only two months. The Commissioner, a well-meaning man who had misled Government by prophesying smooth things, was removed in April, and Major Sutherland's advice was acted on—"It is necessary to guard against the further degradation and oppression of the Kôl population—the productive and industrious classes. We wish rather to redress the Kôl grievances than to punish past offences."

In Burrakur, in May, there were some disturbances, which called for the intervention of the Military, but they were not connected with the Kôls; it was a dispute about land among the zemindars; one of whom, at the head of some Chuars, plundered the village of Bara Bazar, and murdered some of the police and others there: the Ghatwals were in league with the leader, Gunga Narayan Ray, who afterwards betook himself to the hills.

In this, like as in other disturbances, the causes were various, and the seeds of discontent had been ripening;—but it was mainly the grinding oppression of the zemindars, aided by that of the police and tax-gatherers, that had been working the people up. The match, however, that set fire to the train was a dispute between two Kôls about the purchase of some bullocks. The Raja's functionaries had done injustice to one party in consequence of a bribe given by the other to the Munshi. The injured party, one of whose wives had also been treated with the grossest insult, mentioned the case to the tribe, who all rose with a cry of revenge.

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punish them, and accordingly had the offenders dragged to his village, where he caused their faces to be rubbed over with hog's flesh. This roused the Moslems, who attacked the village, killed the Zemindar's son and then spread themselves in marauding bodies over the country: in the village of Ramchandpur, besides pillaging it, they laid hold of a Brahmin, and stuffed bullock's meat into his mouth. An Indigo Factory was plundered; the Magistrate was attacked and had a narrow escape; but the Nazir was cut to pieces, and his mangled remains were flung at his friends. Troops marched out from Dum-Dum and came up with the insurgents at Hooghly on November the 18th; an action took place the next day. After two or three rounds of grape, the insurgents fled to a stockade, which was stormed; about 80 or 100 were killed or wounded, and 250 were taken prisoners, and lodged in the Alipur Jail. This extinguished it for the time.

This sect was called the *Maulvis*; they were connected with the *Ferazis*, and, like them, were of *Wahabi* origin; it was chiefly composed of ryots and weavers, who held the English Government in detestation for its creed and reforms—and the zemindars for their oppression. Titu Miyan is dead; he was shot in battle, though he told his followers he could charm the balls. But his spirit lives on, and it is vain for the Government to think that it can be suppressed either by keeping the Europeans in ignorance of the ferment among the Moslems, or by maintaining an appearance of good order in the face of popular ignorance.

A correspondent of the Calcutta *John Bull* of that day writes:—“The cause of the insurrection was the intolerable cruelty of certain Zemindars who screwed a *bukais* from everything the Kôls had, and when the Kôls were unable to pay, commenced an attack upon them and began by cutting off their heads; depending upon their false representations having the effect of calling in troops whenever they pleased to exterminate a race whom these cowards dread on account of their valour, and conceive they are entitled to kill and slay like the wild beasts of the field. The Kôls were compelled to assemble in bodies, because the zemindars were shooting them in every direction, because a price was set on their heads, and orders were received to search for them and put them to death in the village. Upon these orders were founded the dreadful transactions that took place at Sillagaon. Streams of blood of men, women, and children have been flowing owing to an unaccountable misconception. A discreet Magistrate with twenty good police, a few boxes of Chinsura cheroots, and a few dozen of Gaskell's cordial gin, could have settled the whole of this, as represented in the newspaper, formidable insurrection.”

There was, however, no discreet Magistrate of the kind above mentioned; hence the insurrection which began in December, 1831, continued to gather head until in the beginning of February a force of cavalry, infantry and artillery arrived at Petowree. But so little opposition did they meet with from those guerillas, that when the 50th Native Infantry on its march to Petowree came up with two thousand insurgents near Tiku, many of whom they killed, the majority kept aloof, finding bows and arrows no match for grape and musket balls. They contented themselves with flourishing their axes at half a mile distance, and then, when charged by the cavalry, made for the jungles and hill fastnesses.

One of the best accounts of the origin of the insurrection is from the pen of Major Sutherland, Private Secretary to the Vice-President in Council, dated in camp Chôta Nagpore, 1832. He states that the disturbances began in Sonapur; the Lurka Kôls of Singhbhum, were the leaders and held the country a month. Had they had able leaders, they might have proceeded to Sherghotty and Gya. The land tax which had been increased three-fold in a few years was one ground of dissatisfaction; the insurgents stood out for an assessment of only eight annas on each plough. Then a tax had been proposed on spirits, which was increased by the exactions of the native underlings. The Government had proposed cultivating opium, but on the Kôls declaring they would rather go without

their dhutis or pagris than cultivate it ; it was given up, but still the native establishment went on collecting fines from those who did not cultivate it. At that time the Nazir of the Sherghotty Court sent the Manki or village headman in irons to Sherghotty ; this incensed the Kôls very much. Certain taxes were very obnoxious ; hence they are said to have inflicted seven cuts on such as they considered their oppressors on account of seven obnoxious taxes ; one cut for each tax, *viz.*, —the batta on changing copper for silver—an excise tax on spirits—a proposed tax on opium—fines for supposed or real crimes\*—village salamis—forced labor on the roads—postal taxes on villages :—“ There seems little doubt that the extensive insurrection commenced with certain Ruoteas of Sonepore, encouraged, it is said, by Kandoo Pater, a well known turbulent Border Chief of Singhboom, who is generally refractory towards his own prince. The war cry of the Dhangar Kôls was “ ‘ Dewae Kandoo Pater,’—apparently an appeal to his protection. The Ruoteas of Sonepore had enjoyed jageers from the Maharajah of Chôta Nagpore, or from his Chiefs, of greater or less extent, and have been deprived of them at different periods within the last eighteen or twenty years. The right of the Rajah to resume these lands seems undoubted ; but as power is often necessary to enable Governments to carry into effect unpopular measures, although in accordance with usage, and as we had gradually destroyed the power of the Rajah without substituting any of our own, the measure was a dangerous one.

“ All our European functionaries were in perfect ignorance of the state of the public mind, and thus with a Judge and Magistrate, acknowledged to be an honorable and benevolent man, accessible to all persons, and ready to redress grievances of every description brought to his notice ; but mostly through a system altogether inapplicable to the relations in which we stand to this people,† we were involved in an insurrection which, but that the majority of the people have no sympathy with this tribe, and can hardly join with it in any pursuit, might endanger the stability of our Indian Empire.

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\* Were a man found dead in a village, persons were sent to Sherghotty under suspicion, unless they bribed the police heavily. The Police Officer sent to enquire would be seen returning in a palankin borne by Kôls, with a stock of provisions to last him a month ; a peada on 3 rupees a month kept his horse.

† The Major states :—“ Like the Gonds of the Nagpore territory, the Bhels of the North-Western part of India and other tribes of that nature, they require a peculiar form of government, and that which we have latterly introduced in their country does not seem suitable.”

" We had only 150 available men of a Provincial Battalion at Hazareebagh ; we had no cavalry nearer than Benares, nor any troops of the line nearer than that station, Dinapore and Barrackpore. The Dhangar Kôls were in undisputed possession of their own country. They talked of Calcutta and the form of government they were to establish ; their only tax was to be the primeval one of eight annas on every plough, and had they possessed either leaders or enterprise, they would undoubtedly have established themselves at our stations of Hazareebagh, Bancoorah, and Sherghotty.

" The hatred of the Kôls seems to have been excited by the conduct of the Hindoo and Mahomedan inhabitants of their country, whom they call *sud* or foreigners, in a degree hardly inferior to that which they felt towards our Police and tax-gatherers. The Mahomedans were mostly the farmers or teekadars of the villages which had been resumed by the Rajah or his chiefs, or which were mortgaged to others ; the original possessors rented land which was formerly their own from this farmer, and the Ruoteas and Kôls bore that sort of hatred to him which the Irishman bears to the interloper who gets possession of his hut and croft. The Hindoos were mostly traders and money lenders. Long stories are told of the enormous profits made by the farmer and of the usurious interest levied by the latter, with the impossibility of the simple Kôl ever getting out of the clutches of either, backed as they were by our Police and Adalut. The vengeance which he sought and inflicted on all is but too apparent at such towns as Chooreah, Chatea, Burkagur, and others of that description, where the foreigners principally resided. The sight most humiliating to our Government that I have ever witnessed was such of the inhabitants of these places as had returned, standing with their children in the midst of this scene of desolation, with occasionally an old man or woman whose infirmities had prevented their accompanying the rest in their flight, and who, by the savages who had risen to desolate their houses and ravage their fields, had been tortured or burnt to the verge of death,—all calling in one loud voice for redress of the grievances they had suffered, and in reproaches on our Government for having left them unprotected. They were told, not in scorn, that their Rajah should have protected them, and they replied significantly enough, *We had a Rajah.* \* The Dhangar Kôls, a more peaceable tribe, were driven into the insurrection by the Lurka Kôls.

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\* Referring to the ancient Kôl Rajah.

" Chôta Nagpore; Torie, Sillee and Tamar are Dhangar districts. " The districts above named are the principal, if not the only, " portions of the country inhabited by Dhangar Kôls; they are said " to comprise nearly 4,000 inhabited villages, and supposing each " village capable of turning out 20 able-bodied men, we have " sufficient material for a very formidable insurrection. The " sending out of arrows commenced in Sonapore. Such towns as " meant to join those by whom the arrows were sent were " required to return the arrows whole, and such as meant to " oppose them were required to return the arrows broken. This " is a custom of the Lurka Kôls, and had never before been generally adopted by the Dhangar Kôls.

" In the present instance it seems to have extended throughout " the country of the Dhangars, accompanied with a notice to all " foreigners to quit, and threatening messages to those who might " remain or offer opposition. The Ruoteas are not Kôls, but they " are more closely united with the Kôls than any other class in " their country; and they seem to have found but little difficulty in " enlisting the Mankeas and Mondas, the heads or leaders of the " Kôlish people, in their cause. Various measures of our Government which were unpalatable to that people prepared the public " mind to enter into an insurrection to throw off the authority " which we had exercised over them, and materially seconded, if " they did not lead, the attempt to expel us and all foreigners " from their country."

Let us now hear some of the native evidence on the subject. Sing Ray, one of the principal Kôl Sirdars, apprehended in the Jungle Mahals, stated that the Kôls had risen at the order of the Rajah of Chôta Nagpore to drive the foreign bunneahs and mahajuns out of the country; that they advanced money at the annual interest of 200 per cent. to the hereditary occupiers of land, and contrived to dispossess nearly the whole of these persons, and get possession of their lauds, the ousted proprietors being left without the means of subsistence; that in Sonapur, where the insurrection commenced, the Mankeas and Mondas had all been dispossessed by Kaur Harinath Sahye; that they complained to the Rajah, who ordered them to drive the foreigners out.\*

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\* There is no doubt the Rajah of Nagpore was discontented with Government at being deprived of many of his local taxes and his power, and at being made liable to support the police. By expelling the mahajuns, he could easily settle his debts with them. He gave no intimation to Government of what was coming, which he must have known, and of which the



Bahadur Dobash was sent by the authorities to make enquiries respecting the origin of the disturbances. He thus reports:—  
 ‘Soori Moonda Kôl, of Echagootoo, Tamrung, of Gondullpur, of  
 ‘Pooranauth, narrated to me as follows: I gave a tola of gold to  
 ‘Luttie Kôl, of Koomang in Sonapore, in exchange for which  
 ‘he agreed to give me a pair of buffaloes. During three years  
 ‘I applied to him several times for them in vain, for which  
 ‘reason I carried off a pair of his buffaloes. For this I was  
 ‘considered a thief by Mahomed Ullah Naik, of Koomang, who  
 ‘took from me the buffaloes, and tied and took me to his house.  
 ‘The next day he suspended me from a tree by a rope tied to  
 ‘my hair, and subsequently cut me down, when by the fall  
 ‘one of my toes of my left foot was broken. I was kept in the  
 ‘stocks five days, suffering great torture, and only obtained my  
 ‘release on giving a bullock and a buffalo. I immediately went  
 ‘and complained of the treatment I had received to the Raja and  
 ‘asked to be informed by him, how I was to recover my gold, and  
 ‘what redress I should have for Mahomed Ullah’s conduct  
 ‘towards me, who had taken Luttie’s part, as he belonged to his  
 ‘village. The Rajah said he could not send for either Mahom-  
 ‘ed Ullah or Luttie, but that his Moonshee and Jemadar of  
 ‘the Chukerdherpore Thannah, when they went to Bundgaon,  
 ‘would investigate and settle my business. The Moonshee  
 ‘and Jemadar came to Bundgaon in the month of Bhadon  
 ‘1123 Fussilly and I went to them. In place of paying attention  
 ‘to my petition, they fined me five rupees. I was satisfied  
 ‘the Moonshee was taking his friend’s part, and that my griev-  
 ‘ances would not be redressed.”

Bahadur Dobash proceeds:—“Bindu Mankee of Echagootoo  
 “of Hurriepur of Bundgaon stated to me this, *viz.*:—  
 “I borrowed a pair of old buffaloes from Beerjoo Bunqua  
 “of Hassagung, of the Sonapore Pergunnah. This man came  
 “to my house accompanied by sixty men, and took from me  
 “six cows and calves and four buffaloes, seized both my brother,  
 “Sing Rae, and myself, and took us to his house. We succeeded  
 “in effecting our escape, but my cattle were not released. I com-  
 “plained to Kour Keru Sing, Rajah of Bundgaon, of the  
 “treatment. He listened to me, and gave me 35 men for  
 “my protection, with whom I went to Surgaon, where, not finding  
 “the Bunqua, we seized two men and a pair of bullocks, which

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authorities were in perfect ignorance, while they were entirely misled by the Commissioner’s report as to the state of the country and condition of the people.

we took to the Rajah. For this an inhabitant of Sargaon, named Sing, preferred a complaint against me at Sherghotty. My brother Sing Rae and self and Bahadoor Kôl were seized by the Chukerdherpore Moonshee and Jemadar who came to Bundgaon for the purpose. I requested them to send us to Sherghotty, for our seizure was in consequence of orders from thence. They replied that they would give us an answer on paying them 100 rupees. After remaining confined in the stocks for fifteen days, and suffering great pain, we escaped. When our flight was discovered, the Moonshee and Jemadar carried off my two wives; they released the elder who was pregnant, but the other who was young was detained and ravished by the Moonshee and two of his Musulman peons. \* \* \* \* \* The Sing of Sargaon has besides taken away two of my sisters by force, who are still in his house. At the Dussera of the present year Sing Rae Bahadoor and I waited on Rajah Achat Sing of Poorahauth; Soori Moonda also accompanied us. We complained to the Rajah of his Moonshee having sided with his father-in-law, and deprived my wife of her chastity, and of the Sing having forcibly taken away and kept my sisters. When we had told the Rajah our grievances, we returned home. We four were subsequently sent for by Kishna Dewan, who told us that as we were Kôls, we might do as we pleased, but be careful not to involve Rajah Achat Sing in any difficulties by our conduct. We returned home, invited all the Kôls (our brethren and caste) to assemble at the village of Sonkah in Tumar, where we had a consultation. The Pathans had taken our *hoormut* and the Sing our sisters, and the Kooar Hurnath Sha had forcibly deprived us of our estate of twelve villages, which they had given to the Sing. Our lives we considered of no value, and being of one caste and brethren, it was agreed upon that we should commence to cut, plunder, murder and loot. We said if any were hanged, it would be us four; if any put in irons, we should be the four. We four should be answerable; and if the gentlemen sent for any, it would be us who were ready to attend, and submit to whatever might be the sentence. It is with this resolution that we have been murdering and plundering those who have deprived us of both honor and homes, conceiving that committing such outrages, our grievances would come to light; and that if we had any master, notice would be taken of them and justice rendered.

"In the month of Poos, in the present year, Motee Ram Sahu Mylie, a person in the employment of Rajnuice, Sebkour of Tamur, communicated the following information. The purport of it is that the disturbances in Sonapore had been commenced by Sem Sah and Sing Rae Mankie of Eudeepur, of Surgaon in Sonapore. He says he had heard them declare that they had been deprived of their estates, which with much labour and trouble they had cleared of jungle, and made productive for the support of their families, by Hurnath Sha, who had given them to Theekadars. The consequence was that their families were starving, and that they had on that account had recourse to burning and plundering."

Bijonath Manki stated to the Magistrate at Sherghotty in the presence of Mr. Commissioner Lambert, as follows :—

"The cause of the rising of the Kôls is as follows :—Sing Rae Mankie and Môhun Mankie were formerly proprietors of the village of Silgaon and eleven other villages, of which they had been deprived by Hurnath Sha about nine years ago, and the villages were leased out to some Sikhs, who took from Sing Rae Manki his daughters and kept them in their houses ; they also deprived others of their property, and ill-used them. It is on this account they have been murdered by the Kôls. The Mankies of the villages above-mentioned consulted together, and determined that, as the foreigners had forcibly deprived them of their villages and disgraced them by violating their women, they would assemble together to be revenged ; for this purpose they collected at Khandoo Pater's in Singbhoom. A burkundaz came from the Thannah of Govindpore to my house, and said to me, 'Come with me to the thanna where the Nazir and the Thannadar are, and your villages will be restored to you.' I went to the Thannah, and immediately on my arrival was ordered to be put in irons by the Darogah. I told them I had neither committed theft nor murder that they should imprison me ; but my remonstrances were disregarded, and I was sent a prisoner to Sherghotty. I do not know the name of the village in which Jaffer Ali was murdered, but it formerly belonged to Motee Ram Gunjoo, who was deprived of it six years ago by Hurnath Sha, when it was given on a lease to Jaffer Ali, which was the occasion of enmity between him and Motee Ram.

"The village of Chalum and others, in all twelve, belonged to me. Seven were taken from me and given in lease to Tilluck Ghassie

for five years ; on the expiration of his lease, they were again farmed out to Hossein Khan. The remaining five villages were taken from me at a subsequent period, about five or six years since, and given in lease to the aforesaid Hossein Khan, so that I am quite ruined and destitute of the means of living. -

"The Thannadars collect from each village two or three rupees a year. The collections of Abkarry last year were two annas for each house occupied by a widow ; and 4 annas from all others in which liquor was manufactured. I do not, however, complain of this as being oppressive, nor have I anything else to complain of." On a question put by the Magistrate, why he had not petitioned him ; he replies that his son Gumbhur Sing had complained to the Magistrate at Burkaghur, when a Perwannah was written to the Kuar to restore him his lands. It was sent by a burkundaz, but the Kuar contrived to evade the order, which has never been obeyed, and the lands, consequently, have never been restored.

On the 21st January Kumul Sing, a servant of an indigo planter, who had been sent by his master into the country to hire Dhangars, came into camp from the interior of Nagpore, and stated that he had heard from Patu Kôl of Loyo Phagoo Kôl of Moroo, and Churroo Kôl of Tut Kona, that a large body of Kôls had assembled in Koote of Sonepore, amounting to ten or twelve thousand, by the orders of the Rajah of Nagpore. On enquiries made by officials at Pethouria from persons considered to be the best informed on the subject, it was generally agreed that the excesses in Sonapur were commenced by Mankis and Mundas, who had been ousted from their estates by the Kuar Hurnath Sah, and whose families had been subsequently ill-treated by the Thikadars. It is supposed that, in the first instance, the Sonapore insurgents only contemplated the plunder and destruction of the villages of Kuar Hurnath Sah, and that the seizure of Byjonath Manki of Chalum, by the Daroga of Gobindpur and the Nazir of the Ramghur Court, so irritated his sons, that they exerted their influence with their brethren, and prevailed on them to extend the devastation to the utmost of their power. The plan they pursued was to send intimation to those of their castes in the villages in advance, that they purposed to plunder and burn the houses of the respectable inhabitants on given days. These were told by the Kôls of their own villages that the Lurkas were advancing, and that unless they ran off, they would be murdered : very few delayed their departure, and the advancing parties were joined by the Kôls of

every village they approached, who partook of the plunder of all the property left by the runaways. "Where any of the respectable inhabitants neglected the warning of their Kôls, they were murdered; but the instances of such courage have been rare, and the number of murders have consequently been fewer than might have been expected, when it is considered that the houses and property of almost every respectable individual in Nagpore have been plundered and burnt." \*

To Mr. Blunt, Member of the Supreme Council, we are indebted for very able minutes on the causes of the insurrection, which he traces to the inefficiency of the Zemindary police, where landlords had to administer justice, to the levying of the abkari-tax, and above all the dispossessing the people of their lands;—he stated that his residence of six years in the Jungle Mehals convinced him that plunder alone was not the object of the rising. He also blames the disuse of the village paiks. His knowledge of the people led him to believe that no trifling causes must have driven so peaceable a class into hostilities towards Government. He recommended that a Special Commissioner should be deputed on an inquiry into the District into the causes and objects of the insurrection, that a thorough investigation ought to be made independent of the Commissioner of the District, and that the conduct of the native officials should be fully enquired into. He points out that the Commissioner, an old resident, made in obedience to the orders of Government an annual tour to enquire into the condition of the District and described it as highly prosperous like a garden; yet a general insurrection bursts out a few months after, "occasioned, as there is too much reason to believe, by a long and systematic course of misrule and oppression." From him the parties aggrieved had no hope of obtaining redress by complaining. The Commissioner represented as a "popular tax" what is so loudly and generally complained of as a grievance, and, on the very eve of a general insurrection, he declared the country and the people to be in a state of prosperity, content and happiness. Mr. Blunt concludes his able and instructive minutes with the declaration:—"To secure the future peace of the disturbed Pergunnahs, the first measure necessary appears to me to be the restoration of the Mankis and Mundahs

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\* Mr. Blunt, who was in 1805 located in the Chôta Nagpore District writes of it, in 1832, as Member of Council:—"The Dangar Kôls of Chôta Nagpore, ignorant, poor and uncivilized as they are, have ever been regarded as a peaceable and inoffensive race of people, who possess few wants, and who are patient and unresisting in an extraordinary degree."

to their hereditary possessions ; and then subjecting the police establishments to the most vigilant control. ”

Mr. Blunt, treating further of the causes of the insurrection enumerates, among others,— “ Experience has demonstrated that the presence of police establishments in these Jungle estates, instead of preventing oppression or preserving the peace, enables the powerful and wealthy to commit acts of injustice and oppression against the lower classes, which they would not dare to attempt without such support. In like manner, it has been found that the presence of our troops for the preservation of internal tranquillity in the territories of some misgoverned foreign States has tended to perpetuate evils which otherwise might never have existed, or would have found their own remedy.”

“ But I have before stated, and I am decidedly of opinion, “ that the insurrection originated in the dispossession of the “ Mankis and Moondahs of Sonapore, Tamar, Lillee, Banda “ and the adjacent Pergunnahs from their hereditary lands, “ countenanced, if not instigated, by some influential person or “ persons in the District.

“ This, it is true, may be a very insufficient cause for insurrection in any other more civilised part of the country. The “ transfer of lands from the possession of a proprietor to that “ of a stranger under a farming lease, however objectionable “ when it can be avoided, is no doubt often practised in our “ Regulation Districts, without any risk of disturbance ; and may “ undoubtedly, in some cases, be necessary for the realisation of “ the public revenue. But in the Tributary Hill or Jungle “ States, which yield merely a quit-rent, the inhabitants of “ which are so little civilised, and where the existence of our “ Courts of Justice is scarcely known, the experiment of transferring such lands to farmers and foreigners is highly dangerous, and where it has been attempted it has invariably been “ productive of the same injurious consequences to the peace of “ the country.

“ On the acquisition of the province of Cuttack, we very judiciously abstained from introducing our Code of Regulations into “ the Hill Tributary States of that District, and by this forbearance the peace of those tracts remained undisturbed, even during an insurrection in the Regulation part of the Province. \*

“ The late Sir Thomas Munro, in order to secure the tranquillity of the estates of the Jungle Rajahs, or Polygars, of the “ Northern Circars, deemed it necessary to propose a regulation

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\* This refers to the Insurrection in Cuttack in 1817. It was thought to have been occasioned by long systematic oppression. No tidings reached

“for entailing possession upon the heirs of the proprietors, and  
 “to secure those estates against sale for debt. He observes, ‘Our  
 “sweeping Code of 1802, has made the domains of Tributary  
 “Rajahs, which have been in the same families for ages, which  
 “all Governments but ours have respected, *and which no money-  
 “lender could touch*, liable to sale. There will be some difficulty  
 “in replacing those Rajahs in the situation in which we found  
 “them, but it must be done.’

“To restore, and permanently to secure, tranquillity, the same  
 “measures must, I think, be adopted for re-instating the heredi-  
 “tary proprietors who have been dispossessed from their lands in  
 “Chôta Nagpore. If that object has not already been accom-  
 “plished by the terror and disappearance of the farmers, the  
 “interference of such tribunals in disturbing the possession of  
 “landed proprietors in satisfaction of debts or in deciding upon  
 “hereditary claims; both from the delays unavoidably attendant  
 “on their proceedings as well as from peculiarities of local usage,  
 “often best known to those on the spot, is more likely to be  
 “productive of evil than of benefit. It is chiefly on the judicious  
 “and efficient exercise of the powers entrusted to the control-  
 “ling local authorities that we must depend for the preservation  
 “of the peace of these estates.

“I am clearly of opinion that the system of civil administra-  
 “tion, which may be well calculated to protect the rights, and to  
 “promote the happiness of the people in our Regulation Provinces,  
 “cannot, with like advantage or safety, be extended to the Jungle  
 “estates; and that, for many years to come, the extension of our  
 “laws and of the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Justice  
 “into such tracts will be both premature and injurious, both to  
 “the peace of the country and to the welfare of the people; and  
 “I think a serious error was committed in introducing our Regula-  
 “tions into Chôta Nagpore, or in attempting to create a revenue  
 “from taxes to be levied from subjects so uncivilised and so poor.

Of the Commissioner, who had long been Judge, Magistrate  
 and Collector, and who made an annual tour of the District,  
 and represented it as highly prosperous, just previous to  
 the outbreak, of which he had no intimation, Mr. Blunt

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the authorities until the insurrection broke out, nor did they ascertain the  
 causes until long after, when it was found that the dispossession of  
 the land by native officers was one of the principal causes, particularly  
 in regard to one Chief who had lost his hereditary estate.

He also refers to the Hundee or tax on spirits for domestic use,  
 and the means employed to introduce the opium cultivation, as among  
 the grounds of discontent.

thus remarks: "It is hardly possible that his Report can have been a faithful picture of the condition and feelings of a people whom, within a few months after the date of that report, we find in a state of general insurrection, occasioned, as there is too much reason to believe, by a long and systematic course of misrule and oppression. His total want of information as to the real state of the District, and condition of the people committed to his charge, can only be accounted for in one of two ways; either his native officers had the means of keeping back complaints from him, or the parties aggrieved had no hope of obtaining redress by complaining. In either case, the ends for which Mr. — was entrusted with enlarged powers have been utterly defeated; had those powers been exercised efficiently, had Mr. — duly informed himself of the state of the District committed to his charge, and had he exercised a due control over the subordinate Native officers of Government and others subject to his authority, I am compelled to declare my firm belief that this insurrection would never have occurred.

"It is worthy of remark that the insurrection which occurred in Palamow in 1817-18 was produced by the illegal or fraudulent dispossession of the hereditary proprietors of some of the Jageer lands in that Pergunnah, combined with other local causes. It now appears that in the Pergunnahs of Sonapur, Tamar, Sillee, Berrinda, Boondoo and Banda in which quarter the insurrection in Chôta Nagpore commenced, most of the hereditary proprietors, the Moondas and Mankies, have been dispossessed of their lands, which have been transferred in farm to foreigners, (theekadars and mahajuns) whose expulsion and destruction appears to have been a primary object of the insurgents. It further appears that the most grievous oppression and exactions have long been practised by the native officers of Government, especially the Police Darogahs, which alone, amidst a people so poor, might well account for any general feeling of discontent.

"When the insurrection had continued so long unchecked by the presence of any adequate military force, and the Kôl insurgents had probably been joined for the sake of plunder by all the desperate characters infesting the surrounding country of south Behar and Ramghur, it is by no means improbable that they may have meditated advancing even beyond the limits of the Ramghur District towards Sherghotty, with the hope of being able to continue their depredations with impunity."



We now bring this interesting subject to a close. We think we have shown on satisfactory evidence both of Government officials and natives that zemindary oppression and unwise regulations drove the Kôls into their short-lived insurrection: and that the same grinding of the face of the poor continued, until providentially the conversion of a number of Kôls to Christianity, and the sense of human rights imparted to them by this new religion, led to such a further exposure as to shew the necessity of a registration of tenures, thus preventing a more serious outbreak than that of 1832. Much also is owing to the interest taken in the Kôls by Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner.

There is much that is interesting about the Kôls in their ethnological relations. We had been in hopes to have brought out many illustrations of Kôl life through what is now recognised as a grand source of unwritten history—the proverbs of a nation. But we found that no missionary or Government functionary had ever acquired the Kôl language, though spoken in two dialects by *three millions* of people—as numerous as the population of Holland.

About nine-tenths of the converts speak one of these dialects. In the courts the unfortunate Kôl has not his own vernacular. The Missionaries as well as the Courts adopt Hindi as their language; no doubt it will ultimately prevail, and the Kôl language will die out; *meanwhile* this will not be for several generations, and no effectual means are being adopted to bridge over the gulf or provide for the transition period: we attended a Kôl service, but it reminded us very much of a Latin mass in a German village. We believe steps are being taken to remedy this great evil.

It is to be regretted that the native names of the Christians are changed at baptism, and we have such names given to Kôls as Chôta Dalton, Hilder, Bertham, and Joseph (which they pronounce Jew Sahib). Englishmen or Germans would be the first to cry out were their children baptised by the names of Ram Chandra Sandys, Jay Kissen Duff, or Krista Mohan Stewart. Why denationalise people and add to the strength of that Hindu prejudice which looks upon Christianity as a mere English religion?

We shall now, in the brief space remaining to us, refer to the introduction of Christianity among the Kôls which has experienced a great triumph.

The beginning of the Kôl Mission reminds one of the anecdote of Augustine seeing English children in the slave market at Rome, and being so struck with their appearance as to resolve on a mission to their country: the case was similar with the Kôls. A few German missionaries sent out by Gossner landed in Calcutta in December, 1844; ignorant of the country and without

any fixed plans, they waited some time to see what opening would present itself. But one day, as they were wandering through the bazars and streets of Calcutta, they happened to see some men engaged in sweeping the streets and cleansing the drains; their wild look, dark skin and semi-nudity, formed a strong contrast with that of the better clad Hindus, looking down with lofty contempt on these poor outcastes. Curiosity excited by their strange appearance soon gave way to sympathy with their condition, and an inward voice seemed to say to them, These are the people to whom you must go. They found out they were from Chôta Nagpore and had been suffering from the oppressions of their landlords. They resolved to go to that place; friends aided them, and in March 1845, they arrived at Ranchi and found a population of Kôls, amounting to three millions, living on an immense plateau, 2000 feet above the sea level, stretching out south to the wilds of Orissa and the lovely valleys of Central India, on the north-west to the Soane Valley where the romantic fort of Rotas is claimed by them as the ancient residence of their King, and extending in the other direction to within 200 miles of Calcutta. For five long weary years the missionaries labored here without a single convert, until in 1850, four Kôls, who in search of truth had joined a Hindu sect and become fakirs, came to Ranchi enquiring after Jesus. After a considerable time and hesitation they made up their minds and were baptized—the first fruits of the Kôl mission. These men thought they might see Christ visibly and that the Missionaries prevented them, but on going to the English Congregation and seeing that the Sahibs prayed to Christ without seeing him, they were contented.

The ice was now broken; the numbers increased, and at the time of the India Mutiny in 1857, they amounted to 700 souls. The Missionaries in August had to fly for their life through jungle, swamp and rain to Calcutta, while the sepoys took possession of Ranchi, levelled many houses to the ground, but did no mischief to the Church except in destroying the organ. The Missionaries returned in October; in 1860 the converts amounted to 1,400, and in 1864 to more than 6,000, living in several hundred villages among their heathen friends: this contributed powerfully to the spread of the Gospel. There is in Ranchi a fine Church, built in 1850, to which the Christians resort at festivals and sacramental times from their 400 villages some 40 miles distant from Ranchi, but in ordinary times they are under the charge of Elders or headmen assisted by Catechists.

Very liberal subscriptions have been given to this mission by English friends in Calcutta and various parts of India; when in

difficulties, the Church Missionary Society gave it a donation of 10,000 rupees. Prussia of late has taken it up\* warmly. The Russians in Finland have contributed to the Hazaribagh mission. \* Frederick William, King of Prussia, gave a donation to Purulia ; while all through Prussia the liveliest interest is taken in it : it is regarded as a sort of national mission, and when Bishop Cotton in 1864 offered to take it over for the English Church, the offer was courteously declined in Berlin.

Gossner, the founder of the Kôl mission, was originally a Roman Catholic priest. At an early period of his life he was invited (1820) to St. Petersburg by the Emperor Alexander, where his pulpit eloquence produced a remarkable effect on influential Russians and Germans. The Emperor Alexander, caused a hall to be erected for Gossner capable of holding 2,000 persons, in which he preached for four years and effected an immense amount of good. This roused a host of enemies against him and he was obliged to leave Russia. Even the Czar could not protect him, although he gave him 1,000 roubles to defray his travelling expenses. He spent the rest of his life at Berlin where he was most actively engaged in missions. By his sole exertions he sent Missionaries to the South Sea Islands, North America, Central India, Java, Macassar, New Guinea. From his 65th to his 85th year he sent out 140 missionaries, 60 of whom were married ; he conducted his missions himself, having no Secretary or Committee to aid him : between 1837 and 1858 he received for it in subscriptions and donations 101,635 thalers or 150,000 Rupees and expended 112,687 thalers, having contributed of his own money 11,000 thalers. He laboured on in the same way with the poor hospital deaconesses until 1858, when in the 85th year of his age the weary wheels of life stood still. May many men like Gossner be raised up for the Indian Aborigines !

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\* A new station has been established called Patarburja, i.e., Petersburg, owing to the following circumstance. A Russian gentleman called one evening on Pastor Ansonge at Berlin and told him he had received great spiritual benefit from Pastor Gossner when at St. Petersburg, and, as he had founded the Kôl Mission, he begged to present him with 3,000 silver roubles or Rs. 4,700 towards it.

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## ARTICLE VI—SIR R. TEMPLE'S BUDGET FOR 1869-70.

The *Englishman* Newspaper, March 8th, 1869.

‘**T**HUS ends the year 1868-69 with a deficit on ordinary “income and expenditure, being the third consecutive ‘year on which deficit is leaving its mark.” And in addition to this deficit, which has now become almost chronic again, there is a large and increasing expenditure on objects which, it is hoped, will ultimately become remunerative, but for which the means must be provided by present taxation or by loans which increase the annual burden of interest to be paid to the public creditor.

One tendency of modern civilisation is to estimate the various sources of national prosperity more and more with reference to their value in money, which is not only the chief medium through which they are utilised, but is also a convenient practical standard for comparing them. The financial balance-sheets of nations become each year more faithful exponents of the stability and power for good or evil possessed by each national government. A deficit shows that the State has spent during the year more than it has received ; and that the resources of next year must be drawn upon to make good the difference. If the balance cannot be restored within a few years, the resources of the State are straitened, and its citizens must put up with inferior administration at home, and inferior protection against foreign enemies. The evil day comes to a reckless government as surely as to an individual spendthrift ; and, though borrowing or like expedients may ward it off for a few years, the ultimate ruin and suffering are only the greater when they do come. A recurring deficit, however small, is a very serious misfortune, of which the causes must be carefully considered with a view to their removal.

Were it not that people in practice strangely lose sight of so obvious a principle, it would seem almost needless to repeat that the two ends can be made to meet only by increasing the income or decreasing the expenditure. Now, either alternative is very difficult for an Indian financier to adopt. Former governments have alienated to private landholders a large portion of the rent which should have been held in trust for the public ; and a handful of foreign rulers find it perilous to multiply demands on a people remarkable for “their ignorant impatience of taxation,” while the difficulty is

increased by the inexpediency of enhancing existing imposts, most of which are cumbrous and unsuited to the present state of society. There can be no doubt that, with the continuance of peace, the Indian revenues will increase very largely by a natural process of expansion, and that fresh means will be found for realising the funds necessary for the support of the best government that India has ever known ; but this state of things is not yet to be looked for on a large scale, and it was impossible for Sir R. Temple to trust to the future to "bring things round."

Reduction of expenditure on a large scale was impracticable ; for it was tantamount to drawing back from our task of civilising India, and would not be tolerated for a moment by English opinion either in India or in England. Our position pledges us to govern India primarily for the benefit of India, and secondarily for the benefit of the whole world. We cannot afford to be weak in military strength, or to copy the vices of the Asiatic Governments we have succeeded, among which we must class the dull exclusive system of the late East India Company, in whose hands the internal government was little better than that of Egypt, while India was of no more use to the world than Japan now is. Our possession of India can only be justified by a strong, just, enlightened government ; and this can only be attained at a cost which seems greater than the apparent cheapness, though real extravagance, of anarchy. A strong contingent of English soldiery is required to frustrate the hopes of those who long to pillage our rich provinces ; our soldiers must be well armed, as well as guarded from the physical and moral dangers of a tropical climate. We cannot, and will not, impress labour, so our great works must be paid for in money ; our officials must receive sufficient salaries from the Treasury, instead of being turned loose to fatten on the people. Roads have to be made, and rivers utilised for agriculture ; the burden falls on the State, as funds have to be supplied or guaranteed. Our humanity will not allow us to leave the land without the schools and hospitals to which we are accustomed at home. The rulers are so far in advance of their subjects, that the work of centuries in Europe has to be compressed into decades in India : we have to assume responsibilities greater than those of European Powers, and to fulfil them in spite of extraordinary apathy and selfishness on the part of those benefited. We have most to do with the least amount of help. We cannot turn back from our course : the utmost that can be done is to proceed with caution, avoiding doubtful schemes, hatched by enthusiastic or designing men ; to

see that the people receive the full value of their contributions and to spread the work over the length of time required for its safe completion. There is much in India to stir up the impatience of those who have seen what civilization has done elsewhere; but reflection shows the folly of undertaking great tasks before the necessary means and agency are at hand. Recent improvements in India have been styled luxuries of administration, which can be abandoned when the cost is found too great. Doubtless, the pressure of great calamities might render it imperative to pause for a time; but any suspension of progress is not to be thought of in times of prosperity, when the means can be provided with comparative ease. Wars and other national calamities involve compulsory increase of the national income, and it is the more desirable that the people should be accustomed to taxation in time of peace, when the proceeds of the taxation can be invested so as bring greater advantages to the people than if the money had remained in private hoards, or been squandered on the support of worthless idlers. As expenditure must necessarily for the present increase in India, even in time of peace, and as the growth of new interests calls for the earliest practicable reduction of some existing imposts, while other present sources of income are incapable of immediate improvement,—the time could not much longer be delayed for calling into play new financial expedients more favourable to the prosperity of the Empire. An adroit Chancellor of the Exchequer may, by a slight shuffle of the financial cards, meet a casual call, which it is not convenient to force too prominently on the public notice; but such a *finesse* cannot be indefinitely repeated, and could offer no solution to our Indian difficulty of annually recurring deficits. It was however open to the Government to adopt the plan, so familiar to English Railway Directors, of electing to consider certain charges as extraordinary, not to be provided for out of the current year's income but to be met by capital raised by loan. By doing so, it would only be necessary to provide, at present, for the payment of interest, or perhaps for paying off a portion of the principal, the bulk of the expense being left for the future to bear. There is something specious in the theory of leaving the burden of paying for permanent works, in whole or in part, to the posterity which will enjoy the benefits even more than the generation which constructs: and in many cases, such defined payments afford the means for great and costly works which could not have been executed under any other system. When the Budget Estimates

or 1868-69 were made, it was intended that expenditure on military barracks, on roads and embankments, to the extent of about a million and three-quarters should be thus charged to capital and not to income. The Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, afterwards came to the conclusion that, as these works were not directly remunerative, and did not offer an investment paying interest on the capital sunk, they should be paid for out of the income of the year, leaving no part to be met in future years. Had the original programme been carried out, Sir R. Temple might have evaded the immediate necessity for grappling with the deficit, and further taxation might, perhaps, have been delayed a little longer. We say "perhaps" advisedly, for we think that the Government would have been unwilling to retain the Certificate Tax longer without extending the burden more widely.

It was only to be expected that the resolution to make at once a payment which was originally intended to have been deferred,—a resolution too, which necessarily involved present increase of taxation—would be challenged by those who suppose that the duty of a Finance Minister is to make matters palatable for the time, without a thought of the deluge that might hereafter threaten to overwhelm the State. An English Ministry might hesitate to adopt so bold a course in the face of a captious Opposition, who might probably be in power hereafter, and on whose shoulders the responsibility might conveniently be shifted: but our Indian despotism is in the happy position of generally being able to dare what is right, undeterred by a pressure which is only sufficient to keep it moving steadily in the right path. Owing to this immunity from popular clamour, and this freedom from the temptations involved in party intrigues, our Indian government is distinguished above all other governments by its scrupulous honesty and consistent adherence to what it believes right. Almost every departure from this rule has occurred in those parts of its policy which are most closely in contact with home influences.

The verdict of those in England and in India, whose opinion is most valuable, fully supports the policy of the present Budget. As a general rule, both nations and individuals should meet the year's expenses from the year's income, and very strong reasons should be shown for considering any item as extraordinary, to be defrayed from capital or future income. There is a fatal facility in seizing the flimsiest excuses for hoping against hope that a particular sum of money is spent once for all,—that it is a perma-

ment investment not likely to be repeated : yet every man's experience shews how constantly new demands appear to replace the first. In the spirit of the late Mr. Buckle, we might lay down the law that, though a particular outlay may never recur, the class of extraordinary demands is tolerably perpetual, requiring a constant margin for contingencies to be left in every calculation. The temptation to charge the future with every payment that is not clearly periodical, is so strong as to call for the greatest vigilance, lest present income be frittered away and the resources of the future be anticipated. The circumstances of India call for particular caution in this respect : no man can foretell what a day may bring forth ; a concurrence of war or insurrection with other calamities might strain our resources to the utmost. With a heavy drain on our treasury, aggravated by a stoppage of the chief ordinary sources of supply, we should feel the need of a light debt, good credit, taxation light but capable of at once yielding an increased revenue. Even if we could afford to neglect such a contingency as this, it is certain that posterity will have enough to do with its income. We might apply to the natural course of Indian reform, uninterrupted by great revolutions, what Macaulay said of inductive philosophy : " A point which yesterday was "invisible, is its goal to-day, will be its starting-post to-morrow." The more we spend in redeeming the time lost by the old Asiatic governments, the more will our new work show the poverty of the old, and the louder will be the cry for new undertakings and new expenditure. By electing the necessity of raising at once the means of paying for works now in progress, not only has the Government left the State unfettered to meet future difficulties, but in proclaiming a deficit it has created a strong motive for economy in the administration. A year of deficit is a time in which every administration and department has to repress any impulsive or facile tendency to extravagance.

Our only misgivings are, whether the principle has been carried far enough, considering our position in India. It is obvious, that when the barracks are built, others may be required : forts may be needed for the defence of our harbours or the refuge of the loyal residents : iron-clads, Armstrong guns and Snider Rifles may become things of the past. No one can say what cost may not be necessary to maintain the preponderance of our army, which is so essential to our safety. We must wait for the millennium if we would see the time when these changes may be considered extraordinary. Major Chesney has shown how every length of road constructed increases the sum to be provided for



repairs in future years ; experience shows how the opening of new roads leads to the construction of feeders and extensions. We expect that the effect of irrigation works will be to prove the necessity for their extension, and to lead to a general clamour for a share in the benefits enjoyed by the more favoured provinces. A famine in an unimproved province during a year of good harvests along the irrigation canals, might easily lead to the forcing on of these works to the extent of the agency available. There is the greater danger of extravagance in this direction from the pressure of an influential section of the English Press, which has somewhat hastily adopted the warmly reiterated opinion that irrigation is the Alpha and Omega of Indian requirements. We have ourselves seen the wonders worked by well-constructed works in a province where the uncontrolled rivers are still the bane, instead of the fertilisers, of the fields, and should be sorry to see any relaxation of the efforts now made to extend the influence of these works : we would only urge prudence and a strict regard to the other requirements of the country. The tax-payers will look with some jealousy at the liabilities incurred for the Bombay works, not because the money is not well laid out, but because there are other great cities in India which may urge this as a precedent for benefiting them at the cost of the State, and because their claims are likely to be backed by formidable and compact agitation. Government has adopted the principle that those works which promise to be directly remunerative may, in some cases, be considered as extraordinary, to be provided from borrowed capital ; but it is always possible that such an investment may turn out a bad one. In such a case, Government would have to pay the interest, without being reimbursed by any profit. An increase of loan for these purposes is also to be deprecated, as increasing the amount to be provided for payment of interest to the public creditor. We do not express any decided opinion that Government has already gone too far in this direction, but the question is one of very serious importance, and we do not think that in practice its weight is felt as fully as it ought to be. We sincerely trust that those responsible for the Indian revenues will never yield to any pressure put upon them by ill-informed English newspapers, and too facile members of Parliament, and that in their resistance to any crude or interested schemes they may have the cordial support of the Indian Press and the more intelligent part of our community.

Sir Richard attributes the increase over the Budget estimate, and therefore, by implication, the deficit on ordinary expendi-

ture, "to public works ordinary, to expenses connected with railways, and to unavoidable expenditure in England." A comparison of the Budget and Regular Estimate show that a few other small items might have been added to this list, though, as they are balanced by proportionate savings elsewhere, we may accept as correct the reasons assigned for the excess. Besides the million and three-quarters transferred, as we have seen above, from the head of Extraordinary to that of Ordinary expenditure, there has been an actual increase of expenditure over the sums originally allowed in the Budget Estimate for public works, to the extent of one-third of a million. We are told that part of this is due to the "outlay on central jails," and part to works undertaken for the relief of the poor in those districts which suffered from drought; though we are not told how much is due to each cause, nor why the outlay on central jails could not have been foreseen. It is now recognised as an established duty of government to find wages and work for those who are thrown out of their ordinary employments by the occurrence of famine or calamitous seasons. Hardly a year can pass without loss from drought or flood in some part of the great and varied continent of India, the different provinces of which agree for the most part in their liability to visitations of this kind. They affect the exchequer in both directions, by leading to suspensions or remissions of land revenue and sympathetic depression of the customs and excise revenue, as well as by causing direct expenditure for the support of the sufferers. Until a great improvement has taken place in the communications between different parts of India, and a greater spirit of independence and foresight has spread among the people, this contingency must enter into the calculation of nearly every year's Budget. Even in England the harvest affects the revenue; and the direct assistance of the helpless is a large item of public expenditure. We must accept the burden, and recognise that the State protection of life and property should extend to general contributions to make good local losses—in other words, that mutual insurance against evils too great to be dealt with by individuals, is one of the advantages to which men earn a title by submitting to the restraints of a social union. As this, though a variable charge, is likely constantly to recur, it is to be hoped that the allotments to different provinces may be made with the most watchful justice, so that undue advantages are not obtained by the districts near the Presidency Towns, the inhabitants of which are better able to make known

their wants than those at a distance, who are generally too apt to suffer in silence and unnoticed. The question also suggests itself, whether the burden thrown on the whole empire is not unduly increased by the relations which have grown up in some provinces between the State and the landowners. The question whether in some districts the landholders have not encroached on the public, and gained more than was intended in the original compact, evading at the same time their proper obligations, and whether it would not be possible, just, and expedient to revise those relations, is far too wide a topic for discussion here; but it is a question that should be steadily borne in mind when the State is called on to forego part of its fixed revenue, and to open its treasury for the relief of local suffering.

In connection with relief works, we might notice the hurried manner in which they are sometimes commenced, and the great expense entailed by undertaking works for which no proper schemes have been matured and no efficient agency provided. Not only is the public money not expended to the best advantage, but great opportunities are thrown away, which might be utilised for carrying out permanent improvements when labour is abundant and cheap. The remedy would be to provide, in times of prosperity, well-considered schemes for the improvement of every district liable to scarcity, and to mobilise a part of our engineer staff, so that no time would be lost, but at the first appearance of distress, work might be undertaken in an orderly and systematic manner.

Sir R. Temple tells us that the accounts which show an increase of home expenditure over the estimate, "being received from the Secretary of State, must be implicitly accepted." The increase amounts to three-quarters of a million sterling, and we may be pardoned for a desire to know more precisely how the increased expenditure was incurred. A despotic government may decline to offer any explanation of details, and claim to be judged by broad results; but when such a government voluntarily elects to take its subjects into confidence, there will naturally be a strong inclination to scrutinise very closely items to which any mystery seems to attach. It is clear that our Finance Minister did not feel at liberty to be explicit either as to the general home charges, or the adjustment of interest on the sums borrowed to defray the expenses of the Abyssinian Expedition. The grant to the heirs of Tippoo Sahib, and the charging India with the expenses of a ball at which Belgravia could see the Sultan, were incidents

leading to a very strong impression that no part of the Indian revenues should be beyond the control of public opinion in India. We know the danger that exists of the Home government acting on insufficient information, and on the advice of designing people—a danger which is intensified by the fact that the resources of India form almost the only direction in which an English ministry is not very narrowly restrained by Parliament. The local and supreme governments are under little temptation ; but if there is any one department of finance which needs the constant vigilance only to be expected from the tax-payer, it is the Indian expenditure in England. It is there that we are to look, if anywhere, for laxity of supervision, subservience to the temporary requirements of Ministries, and for that facility which lends an ear to every experimentalist, to every noisy philanthropist, and to the unscrupulous agents of every disappointed litigant. Strong as this feeling is with the English residents whenever their attention is called to the home expenditure, it is still stronger among the most advanced section of the natives. The Bengali Press is constantly complaining that no one is responsible for the revenues of India. Representative government, in the shape of government bodies elected by public suffrages, is manifestly impossible here : but the publication of annual accounts and estimates for the criticism of a free Press affords an excellent substitute. It requires, however, that the exposition should be complete ; and that the calculations of the Finance Minister should not be nullified by expenditure incurred by those over whom he has no control. It may be impossible to ascertain beforehand what money will be required to meet expenses at the other side of the globe : but when the expenditure has been incurred, the public should be in a position to judge whether it has been rightly incurred. At present, India is somewhat like the earthen pot in the fable, sure to be the sufferer in any collision with her stronger neighbour. Mr. Grant Duff's answer to a late interpellation in the House of Commons, leads us to hope that there will be no reserve in the future : but the sneer with which he concluded, as well as the evasive replies made to former questions, show that the concession is not made very willingly ; and that if future accounts are not rendered in sufficient detail, the matter should not be allowed to drop until the home expenditure passes under the same revision with the rest of the accounts.

During the past three years, the ordinary expenditure (according to the new classification) has exceeded the ordinary income

by four millions and a half sterling. Of this, three millions and a half have been already provided for by loans, leaving a million to be now provided. It has therefore been necessary to postpone the payment of that amount of debt, which would otherwise have been cleared off, or rather to renew our loan of that amount. It is proposed, during the current year, to expend a little more than three millions and a half on extraordinary or reproductive works; and this sum must be provided by loans. The cash balances being for the time below what is considered safe, half a million is to be provided by short debentures to restore the balances to their proper level.

We look with some apprehension at the prospect of a rapid increase of the Indian debt, until we see reasons for believing that the increase of the revenue will proceed at a faster rate. We are sanguine that the time will come when India, if left in peace, may safely bear greater burdens; but, while regular expenditure increases so rapidly as to strain financial ingenuity to provide the necessary ways and means, the increased interest to be paid on the debt will form a troublesome item in the budget. At present, more than four millions sterling have to be provided for this purpose; and we are threatened with an increase of the debt, amounting to forty or fifty millions, during the next ten years. This would involve the payment of another sum of two or three millions annually by way of interest—a very formidable additional burden for a State which cannot retrench, and in which a one per cent income tax is estimated to yield less than a million! Increased trade and prosperity, and the direct return from reproductive works, may lend timely assistance. Still it is difficult to doubt that an augmentation of the debt may force on the solution of several problems which prudent men would wish to see left until slowly and gradually settled by time;—such problems as that of local taxation, and the right of the State to a more efficient participation in profits derived from the soil and other natural agents. It is some consolation to us to recollect that a moderate national debt strengthens the hands of Government here more than in most other countries. So far as the public obligations are held in England, they are a guarantee for good government in peace and for efficient protection in war. It is very desirable that the natives should learn to appreciate public securities, both as a pledge for their loyalty, and as a very valuable means of education. A secure and easily convertible investment will, when understood, prove a powerful rival to blind and unproductive hoarding, as well as to

usurious loans on bad security. To an intelligent native, impatient of the thoroughly unsatisfactory state of the law relating to property, an investment in public securities offers a comparative immunity from litigation, with the train of uncertainty and moral debasement that Indian litigation drags after it. The money market is favorable for an Indian loan, and the cheap rate at which the late Calcutta loan has been raised says much for the skill displayed in placing it in the market.

The allowance made for ordinary expenditure during the current year is about forty-nine millions and three quarters. The Government is resolved to make the expenditure less than the income, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the resolution is to raise a sum sufficient to cover the whole amount that may be safely and advantageously expended within the year. The season is not a very promising one; and in the estimates it has been necessary to calculate at a moderate rate those items which vary with weather and with the state of trade. It is most likely that the actual income may be in excess of what has been estimated, but it was impossible to leave to chance the prospect of equilibrium. In order to make sure that there should not be a fourth successive deficit, the so-called certificate-tax has been recognised by its proper name of income-tax, and extended to all kinds of income impartially. Justice and good policy would have called for this measure under any circumstances which did not admit of the abrogation of the certificate-tax. If there had been a surplus instead of a deficit, we think that, before abandoning the convenient machinery of direct taxation, it would have been right to lighten the customs tariff, and to revise the salt and stamp duties, with a view to relieving those who suffer from their incidence in some directions. In no case would it have been very easy to retain the certificate-tax unaltered, in the face of the very general opinion of its injustice and inconvenience. Every form of taxation has its disadvantages; and the choice of evils is very commonly solved by favoring influential and compact interests at the expense of those whose protests are not so forcibly intruded on the Government. This object was probably not consciously sought in the imposition of the license-tax; yet the practical effect of the measure was to impose a reduction of salaries on the servants of the public, whose silence was enforced by their compulsory loyalty and the fear of losing all if they remonstrated against the partial spoliation; and to impose

an income-tax on a small and struggling class, the extent of which was not very clearly defined, and which had no common bond to unite it in agitation not to be neglected. It is ever the reverse of justice and expediency to tax industry and capital productively employed, while realised unprofitable capital is left untouched. This has peculiar weight in India, where a very large portion of realised wealth lies unemployed, or feeds a crowd of idle and vicious people who should either be forced to work or starve. To break down the apathy engendered by centuries of oppression and isolation, is an end which has been sincerely sought by us—at least since the Crown has supplanted the Company; yet this end is often, in practice, lost sight of or neglected, owing to want of insight into the circumstances and feelings of the people, and the timidity that results from this ignorance. Mr. Massey's system of direct taxation, while refraining from enforcing the rightful demands of the State from those who were best able to supply them and who were chiefly indebted to the State for their prosperity, fell chiefly on those to whom we have to look for the regeneration of India. There can be little doubt that, acting on a people whose fear of the tax-gatherer impels them to sacrifice more than the demand in evading it, the effect of the license tax was, in out-of-the-way districts, to cripple trade and to lighten the money market. Few of those who know the country remote from the Presidency Towns will be ignorant that, in practice, the assessors not unfrequently managed to include in their net many who really lived by agriculture, by considering the disposal of the ryot's crops as a grain-trade. The yield of the tax was small, and the cost of collection proportionately large; as must be the case where a tax has to be realised from a small class scattered over the whole face of the country. It is not easy to estimate the cost of collection, as the work was to some extent done, in addition to their other duties, by officials paid from other departments. It is doubtful, too, whether the cost of stationery and other contingent expenditure has been fairly included in the charges of collection. It is very difficult to understand how the charges of collection in India generally were so low as would appear from the actual and regular estimate columns of the Budget Statement, when it is recollected that the cost incurred in collecting the tax of 1867-68 in the Lower Provinces of Bengal was officially returned at Rs. 12-8 per cent. on the collections. Bengal must have much to learn from other provinces, either in fiscal arrangements or in the accountant's art.

An income-tax is perhaps as unpleasant a tax as can be devised ; and those who show a specially "ignorant impatience of taxation," cannot be expected to welcome it with much cordiality ; yet the irritation is less, when all are taxed alike, than when the workers alone suffer and the drones go free. It may be a question, though perhaps not one which at present looks very hopeful, whether the imported annoyance of an income-tax will be added to the many permanent inconveniences of life in India, or whether an increased trade and improved means for local taxation may not enable us to escape, except in times of war and difficulty. However this may be, the present year is a time very favorable for the assertion of the principle involved in the tax. The chief merit of Mr. Massey's taxes was, that they introduced the thin end of the wedge without causing undue alarm. The original income-tax was confessedly a special measure, adopted to meet a special emergency ; and the faith of the Government was pledged to its being relinquished as soon as the particular crisis was over. The landholders have been for two years warned of the liability that would be enforced against them ; and after standing aloof in silence while the traders were taxed, were placed in a position very unfavorable for remonstrance, even if their sense of justice did not lead them to keep quiet. Consequently, the very little serious criticism that was raised against the measure very soon died away, when the opponents of the tax found that they had no practical alternative to offer, and that the Indian Press generally pronounced against them. Those who look beyond the present, however glad they may be when circumstances justify a repeal of the tax, will view its imposition with satisfaction, as a public assertion of the rights of the State, which will greatly facilitate the solution of other financial difficulties. Indian Finance has always been so hampered by tradition and by phantom obligations, which have no existence except in the imaginations of those interested, or those who have not taken the trouble to examine for themselves, that we hail every successful experiment which shows that, after all, general principles of policy do not fail of application to India.

The system of rough assessment is a great improvement on Mr. Wilson's more cumbrous machinery. Under Mr. Massey's Acts, great hardship was often caused to the poorer tax-payers by the necessity of paying before lodging an appeal. In the case of a man who should not have been taxed, but who had



been dragged into the last class by an over-zealous assessor, the costs of appealing were so large, compared with the amount to be refunded on a successful appeal, as to be really prohibitory of appeal. The rule was so inelastic, that the higher controlling authorities were unable to relax it. It is doubtless undesirable to encourage appeals in a country where the right is often abused as a means of delaying payment. But it is often remarked by Judges and Collectors, who have the task of controlling native officials of the class from which most of the assessors are drawn, that the justice of their decisions varies with the probability of an appeal, and that it is at the expense of the poor and non-appealing classes that some of these gentry bring up the total of convictions or assessments to what they consider a satisfactory figure for entry in the periodical returns of their stewardship. Many of those who had an opportunity of judging are of opinion that considerable abuses of this sort crept into the administration of the license and certificate taxes. We fear that the new Act does not go far enough in mitigating this hardship; and, looking at the men who are often vested with the powers of Collectors, we should be glad to see an amendment authorising the Commissioner or the District Collector to admit, for good reasons shown, an appeal against an assessor's final order, without waiting for payment of the amount assessed.\*

It is to be deplored that the financial position did not admit of certain reductions and re-adjustments of taxes which, at present, press very heavily on some classes, and interfere with transactions which should be treated with great consideration by the tax-gatherer. As, in the estimate, no provision has been made for any alteration in the rate at which the stamp duties are to be levied, we infer that any modification of the schedule for judicial stamps will be limited very closely by the necessity for realising the present amount of revenue, and that we can expect no liberal revision of the duties with reference to considerations of justice. We do not accept Bentham's paradox that the man who goes to law should be less liable than his neighbours to pay for the support of legal machinery, because the protection afforded by the laws to him has been imperfect, while others have been protected in enjoyment of their rights without the trouble of asserting them. The proposition proceeds on the supposition that a plaintiff is always an injured individual. Bentham overlooks the numberless instances in which loosely-made contracts, or other forms of carelessness, force a man into Court,

and ignores altogether that a plaintiff may be an unscrupulous speculator, who, for the chance of exceptional gain, voluntarily engages in risky transactions with slippery people, and deals with doubtful claims. Of course, if the Courts were perfect, there would be no room for champerty and dealing in decrees ; but this millennium has not yet dawned on India. Substantial institution fees are required in India more than in most countries ; in most provinces the people are prone to rush off to Court on the slightest provocation, instead of fighting their quarrel out, or abstaining from taking offence. But worse remains behind : there is too large a class of men who are professional speculators in litigation, searchers after doubtful claims, buyers of bad debts ; and it is difficult to estimate the amount of evil done by these men in keeping their neighbours in a chronic state of uncertainty and demoralisation. Those who have seen the advantage taken sometimes of the power to sue *in forma pauperis*, will appreciate the impetus that would be given to the traffic in decrees by the removal of all stamp duties. Litigation is a great evil ; it is well that a man, angry with his neighbour, should know that he must pay down a sum of money if he obeys his impulse, and rushes off to Court ; and it is well that before contesting his neighbour's title to the house in which he and his father have lived, the man who thinks he has a claim should reflect whether it is worth asserting. If it were not from the fear of the costs restraining all but those whose claims are just, none of us would be left long in enjoyment of anything we possess. We should be exposed to the constant vexation of defending our own as much as if we lived in Papua or Ashantee. While the preliminary cost restrains over eager plaintiffs, the ultimate payment of costs by a wrong-doing defendant is an excellent punishment ; so far as the costs consist of stamp duties, they are of the nature of a fine on the wrong-doer, levied on him by the community in payment for the use of the machinery which has righted his wrong. But while of opinion that the abolition of the system of judicial stamps would be as disastrous in India in general as it has proved in some Non-Regulation Provinces, where the experiment has been tried, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the present scale of duties is almost prohibitory in some cases ; for instance, in the case of claims to small plots of land. This urgently calls for revision, and we trust Sir Richard will see his way to bringing in this reform. The loss of revenue might be compensated to some extent by making the parties in all petty criminal cases pay for the service

of the processes they take out, and so bear part of the costs of the Police. The great difference between the cost of civil and criminal proceedings is in India a great source of perjury, and of a very demoralising system of using the coercion of a criminal Court as a substitute for the decision of a civil tribunal.

The salt duties interfere with a larger class, and that more permanently than the stamp duties, which are felt only by those who wish to go to law or are dragged into it ; whereas salt is constantly consumed by the whole population, and its manufacture is the natural resource of the people of extensive tracts of country. It would seem that the peasantry generally have no clear idea of the extent to which they are taxed in this way, and the high price of salt is not felt as a grievance ; it is even likely that improved communication, under our rule, has, to a considerable extent, neutralised the effects of the high duties, and the price of salt has not generally risen very rapidly in comparison with that of other articles of food. There are districts, though, where the system works ill. Salt is a bulky article for its value, and is very divisible and portable. Its manufacture is generally very simple and cheap ; notoriously so along the low shores of the Bay of Bengal. Land bordering on salt creeks is rarely fertile, so that the people are driven to trust to other occupations rather than to agriculture. Under these circumstances, the imposition of a very heavy duty,—amounting in some cases to an *ad valorem* duty of a thousand per cent.,—has the effect of leading to very wide-spread smuggling, and to some of the worst effects of the English Game Laws. Along parts of the North-Western Customs Line, and the Orissa sea-board, may be seen the effect of laws creating artificial crimes, easy of commission, and entailing no moral guilt in the opinion of the people. The physical evils are great ; for fiscal convenience we have discouraged the people from using the resources at their doors, until they have forgotten how to utilise them in time of emergency. A salt famine is pronounced a possibility in parts of the North-Western Provinces ; the effects of the former Government monopoly, and its ill-managed abolition, added largely to the ravages of the great famine in the maritime parts of Orissa. We are glad to see that the Government is thoroughly in earnest in its endeavours to open up the North-Western salt fields, in order that changes in the Liverpool market, or war with a powerful maritime power, may not leave Northern India without salt.

It was with regret that we heard Sir Richard Temple's expression of his inability to do anything this year towards a reduction or revision of the salt duties; and we hope that the sequel will show that more importance should be attached to his assurance, that the earliest practicable opportunity will be seized for that revision, than is usually attached to the assurance that a somewhat troublesome subject is under consideration. The people are accustomed to the high duties levied in Bengal, and it may be questioned whether the advantages of a general reduction would counterbalance the loss of revenue, which cannot easily be replaced from a less objectionable source: but the prosperity of the Orissa Coast, and the development of industry along the sea-board, can never be attained until those who would manufacture salt in Orissa are freed from competition with the cheaply-taxed Madras salt. We can imagine nothing more anomalous, or less likely to raise our political wisdom in the eyes of the natives, than an arrangement under which two Local Governments, subject to a common central authority, levy duties on the same article at such widely differing rates. that on one side of an arbitrary boundary the same quantity pays double the amount of duty levied on the other side. Supposing the most cordial unanimity to exist between the officials on each side of the boundary, no system of differential duties on importation can prevent extensive smuggling, and competition ruinous to manufacturers in the district of higher taxation. The existence of zemindary rights adds to the cost of salt-works and of fuel in Orissa, but the cost of transport would tend to equalise prices at a moderate distance from the frontier. The equalisation of the duties on both sides of the boundary would be a very great gain to Orissa. There are very great practical difficulties in the way of adjusting the accidental inequality, but we can hardly suppose them to be insuperable. A slight improvement of the revenue might very well be employed in this direction, and would greatly diminish the difficulty. As the difficulty is local, being confined to limited salt-producing tracts, which are tolerably isolated from each other, and from the rest of India, we are inclined to think that the solution might be found in dividing the coast tracts into several portions, in each of which the duty should be fixed, but graduating the duties in the different portions, so that there should be no continuous portions in which the duties vary very greatly. The task would not be easy, and we have not materials to enable us to suggest a definite scheme: but an enquiry made

by the Local Governments in concert would probably be able to settle the question in a satisfactory manner.

On the whole, though we have to regret that circumstances prevented Government from carrying out some useful reforms, we are surprised to see how much is really to be undertaken. Works of improvement are not to be neglected, the Post Office and Telegraph offer liberal terms to the public, the reform of the customs tariff is not suspended; a low estimate has been taken of the yield of the different sources of revenue, which will probably lead to a substantial surplus.

The Budget has been received very favorably in India, and this has been the case in England since its details have been fully known. The verdict of the English Press is the more satisfactory, as a vague telegraphic abstract had caused a considerable prejudice against it. We attribute this to the straight-forwardness and honesty which characterise the whole of it. There has been no financial legerdemain; no evading the responsibilities of the present; no drawing on the future; no sacrifice of justice to clamorous agitation. What has to be done has been apportioned to the means available, and those means have been provided honestly with reference to posterity, and honestly among different classes and interests. So far from patching up present embarrassments at the cost of endless future difficulty, Sir Richard Temple bids fair to hand over to his successor an easier charge than he inherited from his predecessor. Not the least of the merits of his Budget is, that it fully recognises the peculiar time of change through which the empire is passing; and that its policy will be found to render assistance, and not disservice, whatever turn the very uncertain future may take.

## ART. VII.—THE DYAKS OF BORNEO.

A NUMBER of books have been written of late years regarding Sarawak and its Dyak tribes, and yet information about them does not seem to come amiss. Our countryman, Sir James Brooke, has thrown such a glow of romance over the history of his life, that anything in connection with it becomes readable. And further still, however much Sir James Brooke, Rajah Charles Brooke, Admiral Keppel, and Messrs. Crawford and St. John may have written on Sarawak in particular, and the East Indian Archipelago in general, the history, trade, resources and people of those islands remain involved in such obscurity, that any information about them is readily welcomed.

Of these islands Borneo is reckoned to be the largest, being nearly 700 miles long by 600 miles broad, and at the same time it is about the least explored in the interior. Why it should be the least explored, can only be accounted for on the supposition that the Dutch on the Western and Southern Coasts are jealous of allowing foreigners to penetrate into the interior, and that the Sarawak Government has been too busy with its own affairs to look much beyond. The country itself presents no insuperable physical obstacles, nor are the tribes inhabiting it a whit more hostile than others who have been successfully enlisted by explorers to further their travelling projects. Reports now and then have reached us of flourishing states in the interior, of abundance of gold, precious stones and articles of trade, but there is no one who has yet been through the island. An attempt or two has been made, very ill-equipped, and with most inadequate means, and the result has been failure and loss of life.

This great island, second only to Australia, is, however, far richer than that island in its physical aspects. The Equatorial line cuts it into two nearly equal portions, the larger being to the south, and this produces a moist and temperate equability of climate all the year round. The hills, mountains, and valleys are clothed with a gigantic and dense tropical vegetation, and nowhere is the soil found so largely to reward the labors of the agriculturist. And several remarkably new forms of animals

particularly certain species of the *Simia* tribe, are found here to reward the explorations of the naturalist.

The inhabitants of Borneo may be divided into Malays and Dyaks; the former being settlers along the coast at a comparatively recent period from the neighbouring islands of Sumatra and Java and the kingdom of Malacca, and the latter the aborigines of the country. What title they have to be considered the aborigines of the country we have been unable to discover, except that they were there before the Malays, and the Negro race which has been found in the islands of the Andamans and Papua on either side of Borneo, has not yet been met with there. As we shall see further on, it is possible that the Dyaks are an off-shoot of the Karéns of Burmah and the non-Aryan tribes of India. It must be stated, however, that we have been unable to discover any tradition among the Dyaks of their having crossed the sea, except one which appears rather to refer to the general deluge. The Dyaks, however, are again divided into the Land and the Sea Dyaks, the former generally living in the interior, and the latter along the sea coast and near the mouths of rivers. They differ from one another in this respect that the Sea Dyaks are generally richer and more powerful than their inland brethren. And it is not to be supposed that the Dyaks, as a tribe, exhibit much unity of action or government. The tribe extends all over the island, divided into numerous clans; some are politically independent; others are under the Sultan of Brunai; others under the Sarawak government; and others again under the Dutch. Often one clan is at war with another in the less settled tracts, and they differ from one another considerably in speech. Then there is a people called the Millanows to the north-east of the Sarawak territory, fairish in complexion, and unlike the Dyaks in being more addicted to agriculture, trade, and peaceful pursuits. And again there are the Kyans, a powerful tribe, supposed to number a hundred thousand souls, stretching from the south of the kingdom of Brunai right away into the interior, and little is known about them, except that in the main they bear a striking resemblance to the Dyaks.

The Dyaks are generally of a well-made, muscular, well-knit frame, rather under than over the middle height. Their features are regular, and yet not of the Caucasian type. Their color is generally deep brown, occasionally varying to a light shade. It is difficult where to rank them among the tribes.

There are, however, certain points of similarity between the Karéns and the Dyaks which may lead to an inference that they were originally living together, perhaps at some point not far from Assam and North Burmah. The Dyaks, like the Karéns, are far removed from the pure savage, though the incessant state of warfare in which they were living before the advent of Sir James Brooke into north Borneo was fast inducing the most savage and ferocious traits on them. The Karéns, like the Dyaks, have the mode of dwelling in very long houses, one of which usually accommodates an entire community. Then, among some of the wild tribes on the north-east frontier, there is a craving for skulls,—a trait which was supposed particularly to characterize the Dyak; and still again, the ceremony of sacrificing a cock is held as sacred by the Dyaks as by many of these north-eastern tribes. This ceremony, however, must have been very widespread once, as the Chinese also indulge in it. The Dyaks, too, have a remarkable belief in the Divine Being eating the *spirit* or *essence* of offerings made to Him, which idea is also to be found among the Chinese.

There are two remarkable and curious traditions among the Dyaks—one evidently relating to the deluge, and the other regarding the building of the Tower of Babel. They say that, in the beginning, there were only three men, respectively the ancestors of the Chinese, the Dyaks and the Malays; that, on a great deluge happening, these three had to swim for it. The Chinaman being the wisest of the three, tied his books and writing materials (it is not related how large the bundle was) to the crown of his head. The Malay tied them over his shoulders. The Dyak, however, thought more of his arms, and so tied his bundle only about the waist. After struggling hard for it, these three “ancient mariners,” or swimmers, got safely to land again; when the poor Dyak found to his sorrow that the bundle he had tied about his waist had disappeared! Thus the Dyaks account for their having no written language. But the progenitor of the Dyaks had the consolation of finding his arms all right, and hence, they say, they are braver and more warlike than the Chinese and Malays. It looks very much as if the story about the bundle of books and arms had been subsequently added on to an original account of a great deluge, in order to supply the reason why the Dyaks have no written language, and are so much more addicted to warfare than the Chinese and Malays.



The other tradition is that the ancestor of the Dyaks was seized with a sudden desire to go up to Heaven, and that for this purpose he built a very long ladder wherewith to climb up—a very long ladder indeed ; but when he had almost finished it, one night a worm eat at its foot and destroyed it ! What is the truth underlying this remarkable tradition, a form of which is also to be found in the Mosaic record ? Is it not that we must take more into account the early traditions respecting the condition of the human race as furnished to us by secular historians, and give up applying the standard of the present day to men who lived so long ago ? How else can we imagine that even after the world had been peopled and attained to some sort of a civilisation, and lasted for nearly 2,000 years according to the Mosaic record, the descendants of Noah could have thought of scaling Heaven ? It is only possible on the supposition that the memory of the signal and complete destruction was so fresh and powerful as to make the survivors and their immediate descendants turn even to an impossible thing rather than risk such a fate again. If we can conceive of a child longing for the moon, we can perhaps realize the true mental growth and condition of the people of that period. What, then, must have been the mental condition of men still earlier in the world's history ? It is needless, however, to go further into these speculative questions.

The religious belief of the Dyaks has remained very much undiscovered, partly, perhaps, because there is very little of it to discover. What little is known points to a very simple faith, but one in consonance with the lives they lead and the character of the country, the former having been one of perpetual warfare, and the latter being covered with dense and wild forests. There is, first, an Almighty Good Spirit, the bestower of all good things. Then, there is an independent, all-powerful evil spirit, who creates wars, kills in battle, and does every possible harm. And there are, further, a host of minor spirits of the woods and forests who work both evil and good. The good spirit, being very good indeed, and never doing any harm, is thought unworthy of being prayed to. It is possible that in the harvest thanksgiving, which will be noted, he is remembered ; but his existence seems to receive only a passive assent. The evil spirit, who is said to do all the mischief that happens, is propitiated in various ways, either by prayers, or vows, or offerings. Especially is he propitiated before a warlike expedition ; *after* it he is supposed to have done all the harm he could, and is let alone. The minor spirits, *antus*, are supposed sometimes to foretell a man

his approaching end, sometimes to cause him to fall ill, sometimes to bewitch and possess him, and sometimes to simply frighten him.

The above is a very rude and simple theology and appears to fit into the genius and circumstances of the Dyaks. Living among wild and dense forests,—forests so dense and extensive, that it has been often recorded that men have entered in and lost their way, and never been known to emerge—it is not surprising (considering the existence of such strange creatures as the Orang-Outang) that they should have peopled them with an imaginary host of *antus*. When hunting, or collecting greens and firewood, a Dyak has often to make his way into the forest, and this entering so much into his life, he personifies its terrors and dangers. If a boar in being hunted turns round and hurts the Dyak's foot, it is an *antu* in the boar that did it. If a man returns home with a pain in the stomach or diarrhoea, an *antu* has done it. If a man loses his way and never returns again, an *antu* has either decoyed him or killed him. If a man begins to talk and act strangely, an *antu* has possessed him. Then, as the Dyaks, once at least, had no rest from enemies, found themselves continually engaged in a struggle of life and death,—found their villages often plundered and burnt, and themselves, their wives and families, slaughtered or carried away into captivity, they naturally took to an all-powerful evil spirit. The offerings and prayers made to him are strictly *deprecatory*. The Almighty Good Spirit being least mischievous, is consequently least minded, though perhaps highest revered; and it is most strange that the name by which they call Him is Yacah or Jowah, which is almost identical with the true Hebrew form of the name Jehovah. He is also called *Tuppa*. Our own impression is, that the Dyak belief, or theology is one of the most primitive that exists, only adapted to surrounding circumstances. The positive *dread* of the evil spirit may not only be derived from the perpetual state of warfare in which they found themselves living, but may represent the memory of something dreadful that they suffered very long ago. The Hebrew form of the name for the Almighty Good Spirit has been noted. And it is remarkable that in their most sacred worship, as will be shown below, only *women* are the celebrants, pointing perhaps either to a time when a promise of the Seed of the woman was fresh, or when women celebrated religious rites in the Temple of Babylon.

When the harvest is gathered in, there is a general thanksgiving offered, and the heaviest ears of corn, with the choicest of their made dishes, are laid before the deity in an open space. The Dyaks have no temples, places of worship, or idols. A circle of women go round about the offerings, chanting prayers in a low tone. The men sit at a distance, and the gong is made to play some music. When the deity is supposed to have eaten the spirit or essence of the offerings, the worship is over. The *Manangs* are a class of quacks and exorcists combined, who keep up a great idea of their power and importance among the people, but are not priests in any sense; and any one may become a *Manang*. All cases of illness, or of being bewitched by the *antus*, come under their special care, and, with jugglery combined, they find their trade profitable. The only other point in connection with their religious belief that we ought to mention, is that the Dyaks bury their dead, and believe in a future state of existence.

We have already remarked that their speech varies with each clan. This is one of the greatest obstacles to a free intercourse with them, but mostly all know the Malay. We are able to present but few specimens of the Dyak tongue, beyond the one word for the Almighty Good Spirit which we have given above; but the language is rich in liquids, and extremely musical to the ear. There is no written language, except what the Missionaries are trying to form with the Roman alphabet. Elementary schools have already been established, and the Dyaks will shortly be able to read and write their own language written in the Roman character.

The character of the Dyak is extremely simple. Some of the tribes have been described as ferocious and blood-thirsty, with a natural and irrepressible craving for skulls; but this trait has been superinduced on them by centuries of war and bloodshed. Indeed, considering that at one time they appeared to exist only for the purposes of offence and defence, small in numbers as they are, it is a wonder that they did not cease to exist altogether. The solution to this difficult question may probably be found in the fact that savage and uncivilized tribes breed rapidly; in their peculiar mode of warfare which does not allow of many being killed at once; and in their existence only as it were for the single object of war, which naturally leads it to become their normal condition. The Dyaks, however, wherever they have been brought under

humanizing influences, have either settled themselves quietly to peace, or given up their ferocity. *Head-hunting* expeditions are scarcely heard of now. At one time, among certain clans, a bride's heart could only be gained by the present of a fresh grinning skull, but this has gradually been commuted for other considerations. We do not consider the Dyaks to be naturally ferocious ;—who that has partaken of their genuine hospitality, or seen them playing in innocent childish glee with their little ones, will consider them so ? Heaps of skulls hung up on the roof stare with their socketless eyes, but they are the remnants of an age that is almost past. The parang, or short heavy sword, has as keen an edge as it ever had, but it is drawn only on occasions of meeting with a public enemy. The Dyak is notorious for his truthfulness and veracity. As an instance, we may mention that an old man confessed to a Missionary that the only reason why he did not become a Christian was that he would not be able to keep the commandment against covetousness. His heart, he said, told him to covet, and he did covet, and he could not help it. He resisted for years with the same reply, till one morning he professed himself ready for baptism. The Missionary, surprised at this sudden change, asked him if he had ceased to be covetous. His reply was that some sort of a heavenly being had appeared to him during the previous night in a dream, and told him to give up covetousness, and that since he woke, he had found that he did not covet any more !

Gratitude, too, is a marked trait in the Dyak character. The tribes in Sarawak who have been rescued from the oppressions of the Malays, the annual pirate fleets from the Sooloo Archipelago, and from their own internecine warfare, bear the memory of Sir James Brooke in the utmost reverence, and as a natural consequence have learnt almost to love the *white man* (*Orang Puteh*), as they term an Englishman. This gratitude has been signally manifested on two occasions, and it is this which will keep the Sarawak Government stable against all the plots and wiles of the Malays. On the contrary, the Dutch are hated, and have continual insurrections of Dyaks on their lands, because the Dutch only replaced the Malays ; and the Dutch are designated *Orang Balandah* (Wallanda or Holland), *i.e.*, men of Holland, and not *Orang Puteh*, or white men. On the occasion of the great Chinese insurrection, when several thousand Chinese miners suddenly came down on Sarawak one night, captured the place, burnt Sir James Brooke's residence, and made him fly under

cover of the darkness into the forest,—when, in a sense, his Government was at an end, on his passing the word for his Dyaks to assemble to regain him the capital, bands of thousands poured in from every direction, and from the greatest distances, swept the capital clean of every invader, pursued them into the forests, and, it is believed, slaughtered nearly five thousand of them, not, indeed, leaving one alive whom they met. And again, a few years later, when the Malays had succeeded in hatching a plot to murder every European in the country, and broke it to a Dyak clan under the deepest of oaths to keep it a secret, a Dyak Captain (they have their Captains and leaders in war) Pemuleng by name, who was also a Christian, at once came and reported the matter to the nearest Missionary, stating that his conscience could not allow him to observe a bad oath, and the very next day the entire clan rose up as one man, armed themselves, and proceeded up to Sarawak by forced marches without leave, license or information, to act as the bodyguard of the Rajah in the insurrection which was expected to break out every day. The sudden appearance of a large body of armed Dyaks ready for action, with their war-gongs sounding, and going up straight for the Rajah's residence, created some consternation at first. But the true reason was soon known. The Dyaks were wild with joy that they had arrived in time; Sir James Brooke could not be too thankful to his twice faithful, albeit humble, friends; the entire country of the Dyaks was roused, and the treason quenched and suppressed. And here we may remark, in passing, that it is worth having lived to be able to rouse such unbounded and unwavering loyalty even among semi-savage tribes.

We have described the Dyaks as simple, truthful, grateful and loyal; and we may further state that they are reverent to their elders, brave and teachable. In war they have never been known to flinch, even before overwhelming numbers, and sometimes an entire tribe has been cut off to a man. They are familiar with arms from their childhood, and they religiously hate an enemy. Sir James Brooke tried for years to subdue a head-hunting Chief in an extremely strong natural position, with even modern appliances of war, but failed. Even the very women fought. And it is well known in the Dutch settlements in the south, that in an engagement, the Dyaks are always placed in the van to bear the brunt of the attack and to cover the Dutch troops. Without any strongly defined religious belief of their own, these wild children of Nature, when they come in contact with the European,

whether suddenly Missionary or otherwise, are found extremely teachable and ready to receive as truth what is told them.

There remains only one other subject—their morality—to notice before we proceed to describe them in their settlements, their daily life, their agriculture, their arts, games, manufactures, and mode of government. There are several circumstances which, when considered, will, perhaps, lead us to expect a low state of morals among the Dyaks, although truthfulness, teachableness, docility, simplicity, courage, gratitude, and loyalty are traits which do not usually co-exist with a gross and low state of morals. The system of living in a long house, where some three or four hundred individuals are congregated, would not be supposed to conduce to morality. Then an entire family occupies only one sleeping apartment. And there is the bad example of the Malays and Chinese, both of them usually grossly immoral, the latter especially so. Still further, marriages of both males and females only occur at a ripe age, and, as will be shown lower down, while the men just manage to sufficiently hide their nakedness, the women, though nominally dressed, are really almost undressed. It is strange, therefore, to find among these Dyaks a remarkable purity of feeling and a close observance of the marriage-tie. A case of adultery is seldom or never heard of. An indecent word or jest is unknown. The maidens are coy and shy, though not too much so, before the young men, while the young men are also neither overbearing nor rude.

There is, however, one exception to the pleasing picture we have submitted, an exception from *our* point of view ; and yet it is one which is so seldom seen exemplified as to be practically void. Dyak public opinion does not consign to infamy a girl who gives birth to a child before she has been married. Dyak public opinion tolerates a girl having a lover before her marriage, *if only the man remains undiscovered*. If he is discovered, he must marry the girl ; if he is not discovered, her prospects of marriage are not spoiled. It is thus always in the power of the girl who gives birth to a child before marriage to compel the father to marry her. If he is discovered, it is infamy to *him*. It is clear, therefore, that if a girl in such a case lets the father go undiscovered, she does not wish to marry him, and of course it is better in such a case for the parties not to be married. But again, it is considered a shame for the girl to disclose her lover. This, it is true, may act as a barrier, preventing her from having him for her husband after bearing him a child ; but, on the other

hand, it preserves a sort of delicacy of feeling, and does not entirely do away with her chance of being united to him ; for it always lies in her power to humiliate herself, it is true, by discovering him, but still thus to compel him to marry her. Whence this extraordinary and complicated system rose, we are unable to determine. And yet, on examination, it will be found not so very complex after all, but natural and simple, and well adapted to the circumstances. But, as we have stated previously, this exception to our ideas of morality is so rarely seen as to be practically non-existent. It is seldom that a case like this is heard of in a tribe. The fault itself is one that is more often seen in civilised communities, only without the safeguard hedging it round among the Dyaks. And from the infrequency of its occurrence, it is possible that the system is *permissive* to do away with greater evils, and *not positive*. There can be no doubt that there would not be that frightful amount of vice in civilised countries, could a girl compel the man to whom she had sold herself to marry her. This was one of the features of the Mosaic law which it might perhaps be well for the modern world to re-enact, and which is also the Dyak law. If, however, we view the system as *positive*, we may see the perfect equality of the sexes inculcated in it,—an equality to which civilised nations are found unequal ; and we find it practically acting among the Dyaks, perhaps, as an inculcator of purity in both sexes alike. A case of adultery used to be punished with death—another point of similarity to the Mosaic law ; but, as may be understood, when a woman is permitted to do what she likes before marriage, such a case is extremely rare,—almost unknown.

The first sight of Borneo itself, with its bluff promontories and headlands, its hills and mountains, its desolate rivers generally rolling down to the ocean without a speck of sail floating on them, and its dense, wild, interminable forests, makes a lasting impression on the traveller ; but a Dyak village with its groups of cocoanut palms waving their most graceful, feathery crowns high in the air, its shady lanes, its long houses, its picturesque and wild inhabitants, is a picture which, once seen, is never forgotten. The Land Dyaks generally live more inland than the Sea Dyaks, although both generally choose the best spot they can find to settle on, purposes of observation and defence chiefly guiding them. It is a village of the latter that we proceed to describe—Lundu, one of the most western in the

province, where we spent many a happy day among our Dyak friends. It is the chief settlement of one of the most numerous and powerful tribes of the Sea Dyaks. Skirting the coast washed by the wild waves of the China Sea in a frail native skiff, called generically and indefinitely a *prahu*, and entering the mouth of the river on which the settlement stands, a few hours' paddling brings us to a reach, whence, at the angle of another bend, a few miles higher up, we may plainly discern the settlement marked by its waving cocoanut trees. There is seen only one solitary ruinous thatch, but standing as a sentinel or advanced post, on the very angle itself. *It is a masked battery.* This battery sweeps the river both ways for several miles, so that an enemy could hardly either come up or down on the settlement unobserved and unmolested. We could not ourselves have pitched on a more commanding or strategic position than this which the unscientific but experienced instincts of the Dyak have pointed out to him. As we draw nearer, foot-paths become discernible; a hut or two, raised on posts, become distinct; and when we reach the angle, we see several large and small *prahus* moored in the stream opposite the settlement, while long heavy logs float lazily, attached to the banks, to serve for landing and bathing purposes, the banks being very slimy and unfit to walk on. Let us assume that it is just 9 or 10 A.M. when we come opposite our landing-place. We see a large party of merry bathers, young and old, men and women, boys and girls, splashing the water in every direction, squeaking, screaming, talking, bawling, holding on to the log, or swimming, or diving, all creating a fearful scene of merriment. Foot-paths or roads run in every direction beautifully shaded, though here and there covered with water, which covers the whole settlement during the high tides of the ocean once or twice a month. A small detached house or two may be met with here and there at a turning, occupied either by a Chinese shopkeeper, or the blacksmith of the village, or a Malay family. At the back lies the long-house, an imposing monument of Dyak skill, some six hundred feet long, and the entire length of which cannot be taken in at one view on account of interposing trees. This is the longest house, though there are others lying about, some two or three hundred feet in length. The entire settlement is surrounded by a wall of iron-wood,—a wood almost as hard as iron, from which it takes its name, and quite impervious to the attacks of white ants, or the effects of rain and weather. This wall is some eight feet high,



separating the clearing from the forest beyond. It is particularly useful in preventing the nightly raids of wild-boars from the forest, and, specially in times of war, for keeping out the enemy. It is got over by notched trunk-ladders on both sides. The houses, as we have intimated before, whether short or "long," are all elevated above the level of the ground, on poles and trunks. Some have a higher and some a lower elevation, but that of the longest house is at the same time the highest, about ten or twelve feet. This elevation practised all over Malay countries, and even in Siam, is convenient for a variety of purposes. The primary idea was, we believe, to prevent sudden surprises by an enemy. Again, it serves very well to escape the inundating influence of the high tides on the banks of rivers. It offers also a dry floor and sleeping-place, above the influence of malaria. For purposes of comfortable living, the rude Dyak in the wilds of Borneo is indeed better off than the substantial Hindu ryot of India. The space underneath the houses is usually allotted to the poultry and pigs, the latter, though an abomination to the Malays, being found in abundance in each Dyak settlement. The Dyak loves the pig as one of the chief blessings of life bestowed by a beneficent Providence. He hunts the pig in the forests. His most delicious dish on high days and holidays is a pig-roast. And the pigs, filthy looking though they be, keep the settlement clean from actual and noxious filth. Indeed, the pig is stated to have had a great influence over the destinies of the Dyaks, as they confess they would have long ago been converted by the Malays, but for the pig. They would rather part with Mahommed's heaven (houris included) *in futuro*, than with the pig *in presenti*. The floor of the house is reached by a long trunk notched in the form of a ladder, and lying against the ground at a very steep angle. The ascent, therefore, is a matter of some difficulty, and to a corpulent or unsteady man would be almost impossible, there generally being no hand-rail. The difficulty of ascent is considerably increased from the notches being exceedingly slippery, as rain falls throughout the year. We have never, however, seen a corpulent Dyak, nor met with one who was "unsteady" from the influence of liquor.

Let us suppose that we have ascended, and so got over this first obstacle in our way to a more intimate acquaintance with the Dyaks. We find ourselves in the long verandah, or common council hall and gossip-room of the tribe. It extends from

end to end of the house, and is thus six hundred feet long, the width being about twenty feet, half that of the building itself. We have said that the pig was a great institution of the Dyaks; now this great common-room, well secured from wind and weather, but admitting plenty of light, is another notable feature of Dyak life. Here, in emergent times, great councils of war are held. Here the Dyak woman weaves her mat or basket. Here the public feasts are held. Here the harvest thank-offering is made, and women go round and round in a circle looking awfully mysterious and uttering a low chant. Here the infants toddle about, and the children play. Here the gossip retails his news. Here "young men and maidens" court each other and enter on the preliminaries of marriage. Here the young men of the tribe sleep at night. Here hang most ghastly trophies of Dyak prowess and valour in the form of huge heaps of grinning skulls, well smoked and dried, depending from the roof, some of the heaps numbering, we should say, more than a hundred. Here the mangy but plucky little Dyak hunting dog lounges about and has *his* games. Here, too, *the white man* is feasted; and if he likes to stay over the night, he will here have a raised sleeping-place given him, large enough to accommodate a dozen. The floor is either of substantial planks, where it can be afforded, or of the split trunk of some species of palm. The walls and roof are all of *Kajangs*—Nepa palm leaf thatched in the form and size of a mat, which keeps out the wind and weather wonderfully well. This nepa palm is found growing wild to the depth of a hundred feet and more at the mouths of rivers, and, as will be seen further on, is of use in another important way, as supplying the salt used by the Dyaks. The remaining half of the house is regularly divided into compartments used for sleeping and cooking purposes along the entire length. These compartments vary in size; for instance, the *Orang Kaya* (the Head or Chief—the expression literally means *rich man*), occupies a very decent-sized one indeed, equal to some two or three of the others. Others again are only some ten feet wide, and this is the average width. The long house accommodates about sixty families, or say, in all about three hundred souls. The compartments are but poorly furnished. The sleeping-place is usually raised on boards, and hung about with a curtain. In a corner there is the fire-place. There may be a wooden chest in another corner, and some arms are hung about. In the *Orang Kaya's* rooms, however, a rude chair may

be found, with a variety of trunks, arms, and, perhaps, even a light field-piece. A mat or two may also be seen neatly laid down. In this room, too, is the powder-magazine of the tribe in the shape of a moderate sized strong wooden chest. Such is the Dyak long-house.

But what most surprises the civilised visitor is the scanty clothing of the Dyaks, and especially of the women. The men wear only a strip well secured round the waist, and passed under. The women, however, have a still narrower slip descending from the hips half way down the thighs ; and it is simply a single fold, and no end is passed under and brought round. This is all their dress, and it is very often simply undress. Some have, however, *corsets* or bodices made of finely-woven rattan or fine brass wire, which, being always kept finely polished, looks like a bodice of burnished gold and very becoming. These bodices are worn in savage Dyak land for the very same reasons that they are worn by ladies in more civilised countries, and may thus afford a strong proof of the vanity of the female mind under all conditions. But what is strange in connection with these Dyak *corsets* is that, once assumed, they are never taken off. Indeed, they are woven *on* the body, and that, too, often when the person is a mere slender girl. The breasts of course remain quite free and exposed. Some women wear strings of bright Spanish dollars round their necks and waists just as Thibetan women wear turquoises. The hair is made up in a plait, or other fashions. Tattooing is not practised in all the tribes, though there are some in the interior who tattoo as much as any Polynesian Islander. And another tribe in the interior bore their ears and attach heavy brass rings, which gradually elongate the ears by their weight, till they sweep the ground, and the ears resemble huge flaps of flesh. This is considered an extreme mark of beauty among that tribe. The conical hat of the Dyaks, both men and women, is a remarkable feature of their dress. This hat is sometimes made out of the nepa palm leaf, and sometimes of rattan, and is a large conical basket fixed on the head. It serves admirably to keep out both rain and sun, and acts both as a hat and an umbrella at the same time. It is used only when going out to work in the sun or rain, in the paddy-field, or on the river. The Orang Kaya, the Captains, and others of rank and dignity add a jacket to the strip round their waists, though their "better-halves" do not participate in their cotton prosperity. A ring or two of gold or silver may be seen round the fingers of some of the women.

With his other good qualities, the Dyak is hospitable after his manner to *the white man*. On entering one of their long-houses, men, women and children will crowd round the visitor, and come to see him and welcome him from all parts of the building. And if he can converse with them (it may be in Malay which they are all acquainted with), their joy will know no bounds. A clean mat is spread for him, or a rude chair fashioned from the trunk of a tree, is brought for him. A fresh green cocoanut is plucked from a tree—the boys being expert in climbing—and immediately opened and offered to him to drink and quench his thirst. Boys will be set apart to fan him if he is heated, and other preparations will be made to feast him; meanwhile, till the feast is ready, *sirih* or the betel-leaf will be offered him, and to accept and eat it is considered a special mark of reciprocating good feeling and fellowship. The Dyaks are great eaters of this leaf, as well as of tobacco, one or other of which is constantly to be seen in their mouth, and which results in their ivories generally becoming a shining jet. As tobacco is imported from Java, it is a dear article, and a present of it goes a great way towards opening the sluice-gates of the most reserved Dyak's affectionate feelings. A number of questions will be asked—whence have you come? where are you going? what is your occupation? &c.; while the female portion will, on their part, enquire whether you have a sharer of your affections; and if so, how many pledges of love, and so on. The feast being ready is brought and placed before the visitor. There are different kinds of rice, some deep red, some white, some plain, and some so exceedingly rich as to exude oil on pressure; some of these have been boiled in cocoanut milk, and others in plain water. Rice is prepared by the Dyaks in a green bamboo joint, into which a certain quantity of rice and water are put, and the open end well closed up. This is then placed in a blazing fire, when the rice gets cooked, the bamboo remaining unconsumed on account of its greenness and the moisture within it. This is perhaps the best way of cooking rice, so as to retain its full flavor. Then there are dishes of fowls and eggs, stewed and curried, vegetables curried, with perhaps a bit of pork or venison roasted. After a substantial meal, the visitor may take his leave, promising to call again, leaving every one mightily pleased, specially the men, if he has made a present of some tobacco, and the younger unmarried women, if they have learnt that he is not married, for Dyak girls make no secret of aspiring to the hand of even *the white man*!

Let us describe a Dyak in his daily life. He rises up very early with cock-crow. He has settled over night what he is to do during the day. He has a variety of ways open before him wherewith to employ his time, and his wants determine his choice. During sowing and harvest, he must attend to his paddy fields only. But these occupy only a couple of months in the year. He may wish to catch some fish, or get timber from a spot higher up the river, or go and see some Dyak acquaintance on business some miles higher up or lower down the river. So out he sets with his broad conical hat and his *parang* or sword, gets into his small canoe, one of which nearly every Sea Dyak owns, and quietly paddles away till he is lost out of sight. Or he may stay at home and repair his thatch, or his basket, or look to his arms; or he may go to procure firewood from the forest, or to repair his canoe; or he may go to manufacture some salt for the use of his family, his stock being out; for, in their rude state, the Dyaks have not yet taken very heartily to a division of labor. Each family prepare their own thatching, their own salt, weave their own mats, build their own boats, hunt and fish and sow for themselves. Only in the matter of preparing their swords, there is a recognised blacksmith; and articles of importation, such as cloths, tobacco, &c., they purchase from the solitary shop (it may be; belonging to a Chinaman) which exists in the settlement. Or it may be the Dyak has nothing very particular to do, and so calls his dogs together, takes up his spear and gun, and is off on the chase into the forest, from which he generally returns successful with a deer or a wild pig as his trophies. Before going out in the morning, the Dyak takes a short meal. The women occupy themselves with household matters. The morning is the busiest time of the day with the Dyaks. At about 10 or 11 A.M. they wash themselves, when they have the bathing scenes which we have already described, after which they adjourn to cook their meals and eat them, when there is a brief period for a nap or *siesta*. The afternoon is generally devoted to gossiping, amusements and games, and such music as they have. As darkness closes in, the Dyaks seek their homes, lamps are lit, conversation is carried on here and there by small groups in the common hall, while, generally, they retire early to rest.

Their amusements consist in a game of foot-ball, in which a light, large rattan ball is kicked up high into the air by an upward jerk of the right or left foot. There are usually several players, and the ball is often kept going about for a

considerable time. Another amusement is dancing, either simple, or with a pair of castanets or a sword. Each man dances singly ; the women do not dance. Considerable skill is evinced by such performers, and the evolutions they go through are exceedingly trying and difficult. Time is kept in the dance to a rude music, and sometimes the dancer both dances and plays his own music. This music is exceedingly simple and rude, and consists of brass bowls or gongs struck with a wooden pin. The war-dance with swords is exceedingly interesting, and worth witnessing. But dancing of any kind is not an ordinary amusement, as it takes place only on high days and holidays.

In hunting, the Dyak is aided by his dogs, of which he has usually a number for the purpose of assisting him in the chase. He calls his dogs together, takes his spear and gun and the never-failing *parang* or sword, and sets out for the forest. The forest in Borneo is a remarkable feature of the country. It may strictly, perhaps, be called primeval. There is no brushwood, but mighty trunks rise straight up in countless myriads, and actually to a height sometimes of a hundred and eighty feet (the height of the Ochterlony Monument) *before branching out*, when they rise perhaps another hundred feet higher ! We have seen such, and if we can imagine the Monument to be the trunk of a tree, with branches a hundred feet higher still, we have before us a picture of the patriarchs of the forests of Borneo. These forests almost entirely exclude the light of the sun, and admit but very little rain ; at mid-day it is there dark and gloomy. Monkeys in considerable numbers howl and chatter up among the branches, but they are almost denizens of another world. There are no tigers or leopards. There is a very small bear which never will dare to attack a man. But there are pigs and deer in any abundance.

Besides fishing singly, the Dyaks sometimes make up a great party to fish out all the fish of an entire reach of a river. This is done by the aid of an intoxicating root called *tuba*. Scores of canoes are got ready, many of them laden with this root, which is found in the jungles wild (there are "jungles" where clearances have been once made, and the spot afterwards abandoned), and a large party jump in and go off to the reach where they intend to catch the fish. Here they proceed to stake off and enclose the two ends, and throwing in the *tuba* root, proceed to beat it up in the water. The result is, that in a short time all the fish under the influence of the root rise up and float uncon-

scious, almost as if dead, on the surface of the water. Then they are either caught, or speared and harpooned and landed in the canoes. But it is amusing to see how the fish, which float by as if quite dead, give a great lively jump if touched, but that is all they can do.

We may now see the Dyak in one of his warlike expeditions. Perhaps this expedition has been talked and planned over for several nights in the great Council Chamber of the tribe. It has been talked over and discussed in every possible view of its aspect, whether as regards those who go, or those who remain behind; whether they prove successful or not, whether one will live through it, or die in it. Everyone has his place and duties assigned; and the great War-Prahu is got ready and launched. A light field-piece or two is brought out from the Orang Kaya's room and placed in the boat. His powder-magazine (the wooden chest we have spoken of in a previous page) is shipped on board. Arms are burnished, cleaned and sharpened, and finally, after a grand propitiation made to the Evil Spirit, they embark, and are off, with their war-gongs sounding. These war-gongs sound very loud and deep, and are heard afar, and at one time the dismal music used always to be associated with the fierce and cruel Malay pirate or the Dyak head-hunting expedition. The war-prahus are sometimes nearly a hundred feet long, and built to live out the sea. They may contain from 200 to 300 fighting men, and a large tribe can muster two or three such prahus. The Dyak, as we have stated previously, is constitutionally courageous, and, before an enemy, fierce and daring. He will fight like a devil, neither giving nor taking quarter; and it is only when a tribe is half-cut up, and the tide has decidedly set in against them, that the remainder will think it prudent to escape or retreat. To us the Dyaks appeared most to resemble the *Goorkhas* of this country, both in height and build, and in their bravery on the field.

During an action it happens that some are taken, and some take others captive. These become slaves to their capturers. Hence it is that we find slavery existing among the Dyaks. But it is a very modified and light kind of slavery. They eat and sleep, and live and work with their masters; only they belong to others, who usually make them hew wood and draw water. They have opportunities to escape. They only cannot marry a free Dyak girl, nor can a Dyak free man marry a slave girl. Slaves intermarry among themselves. A Dyak treats his slave woman or girl with the same consideration that

he treats females of his own tribe. Many families have one or two slaves apiece, but the number altogether is inconsiderable. The institution is one which almost escapes the notice of a stranger.

Incidentally, we have named nearly all the arms of the Dyaks. They got the light field-piece from the pirates, who again picked it up from the Spaniards. Matchlocks are procurable at the city of Brunai and at Sarawak. It is only the cost which prevents every Dyak from owning one; for the Dyaks are really very poor; they have nothing, except paddy, beyond their daily wants. Spears are usually large and heavy. The *parang* or sword is, however, specially the Dyak weapon. Its handle is short, at an angle with the blade, and covered with wood or ivory. The blade is thick and heavy, and either longer or shorter, but the edge is usually kept sharp as a razor, and a blow with the *parang* from the practised hand of a Dyak would make a head fly off in no time. Bows and arrows are not generally used. In their place, some tribes have the *sumpitan*, which is a thin fish-bone arrow expelled by an effort of the lungs through a tube. These sumpitans are generally poisoned, and are very effective even at some short distance. The Dyaks have, finally, a rude short buckler, two or three feet in length and one foot wide, with which they cover the person in a fight. It is usually made of wood, and sometimes has devices and figures cut on it. We may perhaps also mention in this enumeration the *billiong*, or adze, with a moveable head, which is used indifferently for an adze, a hatchet and a wedge, and in itself is a formidable weapon at close quarters, though not usually taken out for fighting purposes. Some of the more well-to-do have imitated the Malays in wearing a *kris* or dagger. This article may be had of material, device and workmanship, superior to the dagger of any other country.

In their family, domestic and social relations, many particulars have already been mentioned. The young people do not marry till they are of mature age, and can fulfil the obligations of marriage, even up to supporting his wife, and building a room for themselves. When married, the son-in-law forsakes his own relations, and places himself under the control of his mother-in-law. Boys and girls have a period of courtship, and settle the question for themselves. After marriage the woman is faithful to her husband, and takes charge of all the household duties; and during the paddy season will often go to assist her



husband in his work in the field. The younger reverence their elders, and the elders regard them affectionately in return. Slaves are kindly treated and regarded as one with the family in every respect, except in not being allowed to marry into it; and the reason of this appears to lie more in the difference of tribe than anything else. Dyaks, now and then, pay formal or friendly visits, both near and far, to each other. A quarrel or row between members of the same tribe is rare and unfrequent. Indeed, in point of sweetness of temper, invariable good humour, and equanimity of bearing, the Dyaks are perhaps unsurpassed anywhere.

Dyak agriculture is in a very rude state, and is strictly confined to paddy. Still the return is amazing, and perhaps not equalled anywhere else. On fixing on a site for a settlement, a paddy ground is selected in the vicinity which will allow of the usual conditions of paddy growth according to their method of cultivation. Having selected the spot with judgment, they proceed, in a body, to clear the forest on that spot. The extent is just large enough for their wants. When the timber has been cut down and removed, the dead leaves and branches are fired, and the soil manured with the ashes. Then the best sheaves of the last year, which have been specially kept for seed, are sown each by an individual cultivator on his own ground; for the ground, after being cleared, is marked out. The seed is sown in a corner, which is the nursery. The ground meanwhile has been well prepared by digging with a rude hoe, by manure, and the rains. The soil itself being virgin, is a rich black loam, with a basis of granite *detritus*. The paddy plants, when about a foot high, are removed from the nursery, and planted out in bunches of from ten to twenty, at regular intervals of about a foot. Rain falls in Borneo all the year round, and the field having been specially selected on water conditions, the small bunches soon shoot up into the most vigorous, large and high bushes. The result is, as the Dyak says, that for each grain he has put in, he gets eighty to a hundred, nay, sometimes even so much as eight hundred! When the field is ripening, the Dyak begins to reap with a sickle only the individual ears and tops, and for this purpose he is often out the entire day examining each bush. The straw, sometimes four and six feet long, is left standing to rot on the ground during the next eight months, and forms a most rich manure for the next season. And yet, after a few years, when the Dyaks think they have exhausted

the virgin fertility of the soil, they leave the spot to select another, where they go over the same process of cutting down the forest and burning it. When several spots have thus been cleared, say in the course of forty or fifty years, they return to the first cleared land, and then go over the other successively cleared spots, and have no necessity to reclaim fresh soil from the forest. The paddy being well dried, is removed from the stalk and hoarded up in granaries. A quantity sufficient for the year's consumption is carefully laid by, and only touched for household purposes; the rest is sold or bartered for clothes, tobacco, and other wants. In some parts to the north it is said that an excellent cotton is grown. In other parts the sago-palm is largely grown, but it requires little artificial stimulus. Indigo, chillies, &c., are grown in small patches about the houses, and the former thrives wonderfully well. One indigo plant would make nearly a bundle of the indigo we usually see in Lower Bengal. Fruit trees are sparingly grown here and there, the fruits being the plaintain, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, *rambutan* (white and sub-acid), mangosteen, and the durian, the last of which is about the prince of fruits of the East Indian Archipelago and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. It varies in size from a small melon to the *elephant* variety, which weighs nearly thirty pounds, and resembles a large jack fruit; the rind is tough and thorny. The fruit divides into several lobes, each of which is filled with seeds covered over with a rich yellow or white soft edible substance, which, in appearance or taste, may be described as vegetable cream. Some of the inferior varieties have a nasty, penetrating, disagreeable onion smell, while others are without it. It is a sweet, rich fruit, if in perfection, and highly esteemed by the Dyaks as well as the Malays. A really good one costs as much as half a dollar, or two shillings and sixpence.

In arts and manufactures, the Dyak knows how to manufacture steel of most superior quality. It is said to be perfection. We presume this excellence has been reached on account of the want of good weapons for warfare and cutting the forests. It is certain that the iron-wood which we have mentioned, can only be cut by Dyak steel, as it breaks or turns the edge of every other. Smithies and forges are attached to each village, and they may be seen in operation every day. Indigo is prepared by individuals for their own needs from solitary trees grown by themselves. The process

of manufacture is ruder, but precisely similar to that followed in Bengal. An extremely coarse and strong cloth is manufactured in the North. It is simply a strip, and is that which is usually worn by the Dyaks. It usually lasts for years. The cotton is grown, wound into thread, and woven entirely by the Dyaks. The sago palm is made to yield its pith, which is rubbed down in water, and then dried and sold as sago flour for preparation and export to Europe. For salt, the nepa palm, which grows so abundantly at the mouths of the rivers, is cut down, and the lower ends of the stalks, which always lie under the salt water, are burnt, and a residue of salt is found in the ashes. The women weave some very fine mats from rattan peel almost as fine as thread, and a mat of which can almost be folded up—so soft is it—like a sheet of cloth. One such mat sometimes occupies six months in the making! Such are their arts and manufactures; they are simple, but not undeserving of mention as showing the beginnings of great things. They exhibit skill, design, workmanship, adaptation of means to ends—only they have not learnt to be rich, and do not go beyond their wants.

Their native laws are in an exceedingly rudimentary state. They are judged by a system of *Punchayet*, or "elders sitting at the gate." The *Orang Kaya* or Chief is usually the President; the Captains and elders form the council. For most crimes there is simply a fine, small or large. Before Sir James Brooke's time adultery was punished with death; and since his time short terms of imprisonment have been awarded for peculiar offences. But crime is exceedingly rare. The Dyaks of a tribe are practically and essentially governed by themselves. The most notable old warriors are the *Tuaks* or elders (who are also the Captains), who may be said to represent the tribe, with the chief, who is *elective*, sitting as President in all matters whatsoever, whether it be war, or selecting a new field for cultivation. They owe fealty to the Central Government if they are in English Dutch, or Malay territory. The Dutch and Malays are said to tax them heavily, and treat them with much oppression. In Sarawak territory the Dyaks have only to pay a capitation-tax of two rupees per head per annum, which they can easily do, and to render military service when required, which is but seldom. Land belongs in perpetuity to him who clears and plants on it.

The question may here arise,—Is labor procurable in Sarawak? It is, we think, for all sufficient purposes. The great Borneo Company find no difficulty in this matter. There are not only Malays and Dyaks, but Chinese, who work harder than both. And the supply of laborers from China is unlimited. It is computed that upwards of twenty thousand Chinese laborers spawn over the Malayan Peninsula and Islands every year, and it is not difficult to get them to Borneo, as there is a direct communication between Sarawak and Hong-Kong. Sarawak presents a splendid field for the enterprising capitalist. There is timber, specially the valuable camphor-wood, which may be cut down, sawn, and exported in any quantity to Singapore and China. There is rattan to be had in ship-loads only for the gathering. There is coal in abundance. There are edible birds' nests, which the Chinese prize so highly. There is any quantity of wax and guttapercha. There is sago, which may be exported either as flour, or made up in the form of pearl sago. Excellent indigo and cotton can be grown. And paddy itself would remunerate the cultivator and exporter beyond the most sanguine expectations. Living is cheap, because unartificial, and there are few taxes to pay. A company with a small capital of two or three lakhs would, in a couple years, quintuple its capital, at the same time that it paid handsome dividends, if properly managed, and the profits would yearly increase. And the European Planter or trader would be the Honorary Magistrate of his part of the country! Indeed, we are surprised that long ere this a rush of capitalists has not been made to Borneo. Meanwhile, the Borneo Company, and one or two private individuals, have been making gigantic fortunes. Had half the money that has been lost in Assam and Cachar been bestowed on Sarawak, always assuming of course under *proper management*, the amount would have made its proprietors wealthy, instead of having, as it has done, left them penniless and ruined. The commercial capabilities of Borneo, however, have remained unknown, and ignorance of the Island and its supposed distance have served to magnify imaginary difficulties and keep men away from it. Let a beginning even be made, and the truth of what we have written be tested, always, of course, under *proper management*. Bad management would ruin the best of schemes.

The past of the Dyaks remains buried in oblivion, from which it is almost hopeless to extricate it. The present, under

the Sarawak Government, is hopeful, and it is to be hoped that the light of English sway will penetrate still further. The Dyaks have as yet kept themselves from the vices of drinking and opium-smoking, both which go on before their eyes. Their character is open, simple, teachable, pure, and they are not lazy. They are gradually being won over to Christianity, and a written language in the Roman character has been given them. From all these we may prognosticate of them a most hopeful and successful future.

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ART. I.—THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

“**L**ORD NAPIER has commissioned Captain M. W. Carr to collect and reprint all known notices of the Seven Pagodas.” It may seem thus a waste of labor to anticipate this important work by a mere review-article, but the very modesty of our aim may be our defence. History, art, legend, will all come under discussion in the promised book ; we only pretend to tell what our own eyes saw in a short visit four years back. If the “Curse of Kehama” had never been written, or written, had not been backed by notes fixing one mysterious scene at this place, who but Dr. Dryasdust would have cared to visit it? Now, it is a place to be seen, but to our thinking it possesses little but antiquarian interest. Those who know more of it than the notes to the Curse of Kehama tell, probably owe their knowledge to Fergusson’s “Rock-cut Temples ;” yet even so much curiosity is an indiscretion, for when one has believed with Southey that Mahabalipur was once the site of a magnificent city, destroyed by some great convulsion of nature which made a sandy desert of the lands it did not drown, there is something very disenchanting in the quiet assurance that whatever works remain are but some five centuries old, and represent but some four years’ labour of a few thousand masons entertained by the freakish generosity of a single man.

Our visit was a Christmas trip from Madras. When the journey was planned, there were several other intending sight-seers ; but from one cause or other the party dwindled away, and we were left to go alone. Having borrowed a tent, and sent before all the necessary furniture and stores for the three days’ visit—for the place itself offered but milk, and the coarse grains servants use—we started in the afternoon of the 26th

December ; but the journey deserves description, though it introduced only one of the novel means of transit with which one makes acquaintance in India.

Almost all the way from Sadras northward to Madras, parallel to the shore and always within earshot of the breakers, extends a chain of salt *lagoons*, more or less broad, which seem specially provided to facilitate communication along this storm-beaten and harbourless coast. Such backwaters are not uncommon in the south, and Lord Harris planned a series of connecting works to give an unbroken navigation canal from beyond the Godavery to Cape Comorin, which the Travancore Government, profiting by a like but bolder series of *lagoons*, proposed to carry up to Trichoor not far from Calicut. Among the fragments already finished is that opening into the Adyar river at Madras. The upper part is, therefore, a true canal passing through a pretty deep cutting ; but after the first three miles, it is so nearly on the level of the neighbouring lands that passage-boats can take full advantage of any favoring wind ; and this may be an important consideration, for, as the wind served, we were but some eight hours in running the eight-and-twenty miles outward ; while in returning, the boatmen took fourteen or fifteen hours to track the boat home. The greasy black mud of the banks mixed with thin laminæ of large oyster shells made walking far from pleasant ; and, as the country was not very interesting, we presently had enough of seeing the low hills of Palmaner across a green palm-sprinkled but somewhat stony plain, even under the bright influence of the setting winter sun. And Indian travelling, in general, makes one somewhat indifferent to the most tempting landscape : one is never wholly separated from the belongings which go to make up home, for where shops and inns exist not, and rest-houses are scarce, travelling is not a matter of a carpet-bag and hat-box as at home. In illustration whereof, take a description of our location on the night of the 26th December.

It was a decked boat with low sides, some thirty feet long, tapering to the bow and stern, each half the exact counterpart of the other, just six feet broad amidships, where a space, some ten feet long, was covered with a flat wooden roof which just gave room to sit up on the deck floor. Here the bed of course was spread, our servant, with the boatmen not on duty, sleeping on the roof above,—a service of some danger, for history tells of some former voyagers who chose to enjoy the evening freshness seated in arm chairs on the roof, and indulging in unseasonable mirth, saw one of their number disappear backwards in the black mud

below, after which they had to wait till repeated sluicings should make endurable his unsavoury presence even in the utmost corner of the boat. A fireplace of earth, a heap of firewood, and the boxes which contained the stores and had to serve as tables, completed the furniture of an abode which we found airy enough as the night drew on. So, when exercise was no longer attractive, we lounged over a book, or watched the sky, and dined, and, with lighted lamp, fell to reading again. Though it was full moon, the light tempted divers fish to jump into the boat, but the most conspicuous victim, a two or three-pounder, leapt in long after the light was out, breaking up our dreams with horrible fears that the servant really had tumbled overboard. So about 1 A. M. we woke to seek more blankets, and to find the boat made fast at our journey's end.

Rising at dawn, the first point of course was the tent, which was to be our head-quarters for the next three days. It was pitched outside the village, at the north-east corner, at the edge of the rolling sands which stretched to the sea half a mile to the eastward, and close to a *mundapum*, a stone-hall open to the south, which furnished the servants with good shelter and a handy cook-room. Here was sitting-room and dining-room, bed-room and dressing-room in one, and a corner of the verandah gave a screened bath-room, so low that, without kneeling on the sandy floor, we could not empty the water jars over our head.

The village is a very small one, though not without sign of past greater importance, chiefly occupied by stone-cutters. Its chief, if not sole, manufacture is *bratties*, perhaps partly for use in the quarries. Along the east and west faces of the precinct of the village pagoda run broad, straight, sandy roads, crossed at right angles about a furlong to the north by a third. Two houses lie just south of the pagoda, the rest in the eastern and northern roads; while beyond the east street are the remains of choultries, the open porticoes in which pilgrims lodged, and two large artificial tanks, one of cut stone being still perfect. About the village pagoda there is nothing remarkable but the cupola for swinging the idol, resting on four elegant pillars, outside the unfinished *gopuram*; the ruined hall of the outer court seems to witness that repairs were not hurried in the inner, though now all the roofs are as white as plaster can make them, and the pinnacles have been re-gilt. Of course the chambers of that inner-court must be left to the imagination, as it may not be entered by profane foot. It is some-



what curious that this temple should be sacred to Vishnu, as in all the ancient remains, largely as they honor him, especially under the form of Krishna, he certainly is made inferior to Siva.

The ancient remains may be divided into three groups: those on the shore, those in the granite hills near the village, and the *ruths* a mile to the southward. With the last may be classed some like works in a group of small rocks, near the landing place from the back water, about half a mile west of the village, if it be necessary to mention what are unfinished but later feebler imitations, on a smaller scale, of the square *vimana* pattern. But they illustrate strikingly the main peculiarity of this kind of work—the need of finishing the upper part before touching the lower; it is at first rather hard to remember that a rude, unfinished basement does not imply even equal imperfection in the upper-stories. The literary interest of the place centres of course on the first group, but though considerable works remain, and there are evidences of more which were only projected, it is impossible to believe that the sunken pagodas had any real existence. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the posts and factories of several European nations were scattered thickly along this coast. The Dutch had an important factory at Sadras, not five miles off. Communication was freely kept up among allied settlements by native craft, which assuredly never went far out to sea, yet no European ever saw their gilded tops, and we are to take them on the strength of Mr. Goldingham's brahmin's account (about 1806) of what his grandfather said he had seen. The use that would be made of a mythical and unveracious grandfather by a native, who, of course, held it his duty to swear to what he thought would please his patron, may be guessed by those who remember Burton's story of the zealous antiquary in the hills, for whom, for the small sum of one rupee, a village elder turned the stones—used by the village lads in their play—into the father and mother of the gods. But though such edifices could stand the surf for centuries on this bare coast, they would have been but mere cardhouses against even a small cyclone, such as that of 25th Nov. 1865 which ploughed up large masses of the well-built sea wall on the seaward face of Fort St. George, or the storms which have beaten to ruin the great ghâts at this very place. The submerged pagodas seem, in short, to have been created to account for the name;

needlessly, for from the sea the number is made up by the five *ruths*, the village pagoda, and the *vimana* on the shore. Full details of all the remains on the shore would be tedious and unprofitable; but though silent on the rude reliefs and shapings of many rocks, it is necessary, for the sake of the historical inference, to mention two little shrines, planned and partly built, with materials piled by them for part completion. In both cases, most of the stones are fully worked, in both they are roughly piled on the west (or land) side as thrown down by workmen, not by a convulsion of nature: in neither would the remaining heap suffice to finish the work, yet neither is at all likely to have been used as a quarry. The more advanced of these works is on the upper line of the shore; the other is a rock beaten by the waves at all times of the tide, stepped for the foundations of a shrine eight feet square, though no stone may ever have been laid.

The famous temple, with a broad ghât beside it, descending, as it seems, only to the sea, and ruined by the waves, filled the seaward face of an oblong precinct still traceable; the side posts of the gate, carved with human figures, now buried in sand up to the waist, show that the entrance was opposite the door of the small shrine, and so nearly in the north-western corner.

The chief shrine, a chamber some twelve feet square, with a pyramidal roof of four storeys and cupola, has round it a passage entered at north-west and south-west corners, screened by a wall richly ornamented, and as high as the lower-storey of the shrine. From this passage, on the west of the shrine, is a doorway into a low, narrow chamber thirteen feet by four, nearly filled with one curious statue of Vishnu lying asleep on Seshnaga, cut out of a block of at least 120 cubic feet, one side of which is built into the wall. The excellence of the cement used is shown, by the condition of this wall, for, though two courses are missing at the corner, and along much of the west and south sides, the flat roof and upper courses still stand unshaken; and a little though less important gap in the wall of the adjoining little shrine has not shaken its pyramidal roof. This little shrine is a reduced copy of the other, its chamber being six feet square; it contains under a canopy in the wall the bas-relief, repeated in the other and elsewhere in the caves, of Parbati with their child Soobramonium seated on the left of her spouse Siva, behind whom stand, as attendants, Brahma and Vishnu. These carvings deserve mention, for the attitudes

are easy, and if the figures have an undue number of arms, they are not forced on the attention; all wear the tall cylindrical cap of the Persians, and the hair of the female is dressed in plain rolls in the fashion common not long since at home. The larger shrine has in the middle a sixteen-sided pillar, twenty-four inches in diameter and some six feet long, of polished black granite. This is partly overthrown and the top is broken, but probably it was intended for a lingam.

It is impossible to give an idea of the enormous quantity of stone lying in confusion southward beyond the ghât and in the sea, as far as the rock, on which one square pillar still stands in the ceaseless beat of the waves. Had the whole space been covered with buildings, afterwards shaken down by some long earthquake, and their stones left to be tumbled by the sea, or on higher ground to be corroded, as those of the shrine, by the wind and spray of centuries, the result would have been just what we now see; but, as now, on a calm day, spray from the rising tide reached us sitting in the eastern doorway of the cloister, just in front of the shrine door, it is scarcely conceivable that any building could have existed below; it would have been a bold design even to enclose the space westward of the pillared rock as a sea-bath, to which the ghât above named might give access, and from which narrow steps would lead to a standing place (some four feet square) smoothed in the rock some four feet below the threshold. The sea-beat pillar was often, at the time of our visit, completely enveloped in water and spray from the waves of the rising tide; it stands in a smooth wall of rock continued northward, beyond a gap of some twelve feet in another like wall wherein are the mortice holes of other like pillars. Bishop Heber, without grounds, fancied it might be a lingam.

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The hills of the caves and reliefs stretch for a mile close behind the village, beginning in low shelving beds at the north, and ending in precipitous masses, some eighty feet high, on the south. Small as the elevation is, it suffices to give a very extensive and charming view; the eastern half of the scene is occupied by the sea; westward it is bounded by a bolder range stretching far to north and south, through a gap in which are seen the towers of the great Pagoda of Trichiconum, its woods and fertile fields, and between that western range and the sands of the shore, there is at this time far more water than land, though

coarse grass in abundance peers through the water now, and the dry season doubtless leaves these fields only moist enough to continue green. Clefts in the rock, filled with rich mould by the disintegrated stone, put forth creeping plants and low-spreading shrubs and flowers, but otherwise the rocks are naked. Two well-marked valleys running through the range from north-east to south-west, and an irregular branch of the northern one running south-east out to the plain, make divisions in the range very convenient for topographical purposes ; and we shall take due advantage of them in going the round of the sights in a saunter, which, making every allowance for halts to admire and perpend, can hardly take more than two hours.

Let us begin with the famous bas-relief just behind the village temple. Here the face of perpendicular rock, some thirty feet high, is covered for a length of eighty feet with figures of men of all sizes, running or standing, armed or unarmed, and of pot-bellied cherubs and beasts. There is no grouping, nay there is no scene ; the figures tell no tale, and have no connection with each other, save that all look towards a cleft about half-way along the face. On the northern rock the conspicuous figures are Heber's favourite elephants, which certainly are successful, but it is little praise to a sculptor that he has not failed in a representation requiring so little delicacy of proportion or knowledge of anatomy. In the southern rock the chief figure is Arjan, with up-stretched arms, standing on one toe, engaged in some of those penances which give power even over the gods ; and perhaps we should be wrong in saying the figures here show less knowledge and skill than is displayed in the representation of a rectangular saint in the early middle age. Far superior is the famous figure of a seated ascetic, well posed, with down-pressed head ; the only specimen we have seen of so early a date of a true Hindu statue—a human figure cut out in the round. Near these are, in high relief, the figures of sundry other ascetics, some headless, having but the mortice hole for the neck between the shoulders. Adjoining this to the south, the face of the rock is occupied for forty feet by a cave temple, seven bays broad, coarse and plain, without symbol of worship or ornament, save the conventional sitting lions, with goggle eyes and tusks and prick ears, which form bases for the pillars in front ; it is three bays deep, and though each side chamber is but two bays broad, the shrine is internally not the square of two bays ; it therefore should be tolerably safe, even if more of the lions follow the one which has vanished, faults parallel to the

dip of the northern beds having cut him off above and below. This cave, shrine and all, is being utilized as a place for making the mortar used in repairing the neighbouring pagoda. Next, for eighty or ninety feet, we find the natural rock, unappropriated by any work. Beyond, for a length of some fifty feet, the sloping rock has been cut back some fifteen feet, and the vertical wall so obtained, some twelve feet high, is covered with a low relief of a gigantic Krishna holding the hill Goberdun on his little finger, or toying with Gopis as large as himself among the big cows and calves of favored Brindabun; a rude roof resting on pillars shelters this precious work of art, which neither gains nor loses by the pigments daubed on it by worshippers.

So far we have been moving southward along the eastern face of the cliff; now let us turn sharp to the right up the ringing naked rock, steep but rough enough to give secure foothold. In a minute we are on the ridge of the eastern quarter, whose boundaries are the plain on the east, and on the other sides the first long valley running from north-east to south-west with its irregular branch to south-east. But this valley is not a smooth ditch on one level like a railway cutting. First, it rises gently and regularly to a height of some twenty-five feet, and then dips into the basin just below us to the north-west, half full of rich earth, fringed with stiff, trailing shrubs, surrounded by bare, barren rocks, cut off from the southern fall of the valley by its highest ridge, perhaps forty feet high, connecting the ridge on which we stand with the Palatine Hill on the other side. On our ridge are two conspicuous objects—two crags shooting up boldly; good landmarks, almost the first objects seen, and the last lost by the traveller—two slices of larger rocks, whose western masses have been quarried away: the other, the terrace and side posts of a *gopuram*, one of the three structural works on these hills. The terrace is sixty feet by forty, including the gate-passage which is ten feet broad, is six feet above the surface of the rock, and each of the side posts rises ten feet above it. There may be nothing remarkable in the work itself; the terrace wall has only the usual mouldings and cornices and plasters; the posts only the usual medallions; but its position is the only hint of any large design about the place. For it stands just behind the village Pagoda (whose *gopuram* too, is unfinished, nor built up to the level of the gate-posts), just over the unappropriated rock, and far enough back to give room for a bold steep flight of steps to be hewn in the native rock. Beyond, on the other side of the little valley, is the Palatine Hill whose

top offers the largest space of roughly level ground in these hills, which is said to have been the site of a palace. It is therefore conceivable that this *gopuram*, approached from below by a broad flight of stairs, flanked by a cave temple and that of the Gopi bas-relief, was to be a gateway, giving access by a solid embankment to some temple or dwelling-house on the level top of the Palatine. Hence downwards into the basin whence the brattie-makers are busily carrying the earth, and there let us pause to notice curious channels in the surface of the rock. These are less than a foot broad, and perhaps an inch deep, and generally at least are found in parallel pairs, but their object is not very plain. They are certainly not water-courses, but may be suspected to indicate the method of moving blocks cut in the quarries by means of rollers running in these grooves; however, they certainly fall in some places so abruptly that it is hard to see how any pressure could have confined the roller to them. Passing northward into the gorge, we shall find it full of sharp chips of granites of all sizes which make walking somewhat unpleasant. This northern part of the eastern quarter is now one of the chief quarries. On the eastern side of this gorge is a cave temple, three bays long, with bas-reliefs of the Varáha and Báman "avatars" of Vishnu, the latter the only allusion in the neighbourhood to the story of Bali which some would localize here. Beyond, just at the entrance of the gorge, is an oblong rock cut into the semblance of a shrine, some 25 feet in external height; from the eastern wall of the small chamber hewn in it, projects the squat image of Ganésa, black with constant and fresh oil, and decorated with thin strings of fresh flowers. A huge cylindrical rock, curiously poised on the sloping surface of a neighbouring hill, is the guide of our next advance. It is said to be about 25 feet in diameter and we should set it at 50 feet in length. Its rounded lower end probably gave the idea, now devoutly believed, that it was a lump of butter turned into stone by Krishna. Passing on between two crags at the extreme northern point of the range, we come to a rock hewn into a temple of three chambers, each having on its back wall a male figure wearing the Persian cap, between two attendants, none monstrous, but all apparently forms of Siva; the warders which flank each door-way, too, are not unpleasing. In front of this is Krishna's churn, singularly small for the production of so huge a mass of butter, for it is only a round cistern cut in the live rock less than five feet deep, and less than nine feet in internal breadth. Even the cat

which ate the butter is pointed out, on its hind legs close to the elephant's trunk at the corner of the great bas-relief, petrified, we suppose, with shame and horror at the discovery of its sacrilegious theft. From the churn we pass southward along the ridge, on whose slope lies the pat of butter, to the Palatine, with a digression, if need be, to the edge of the palmyra swamp to two caves of little interest, though there are warders to each of the five chambers of the one; the other is a coarse work with no internal division. The top seems to have been enlarged by excavating, and perhaps by terracing, and bricks are abundant, as in fragments of walls, all down this side of the ravine; but if you venture to doubt that they once made part of a palace, the simple faith of your guide at once confutes you. In the crags of the eastern hill are certain holes made, you think, by the tools which cut away the rest of the rock and blackened by weather; he knows the stains to be the smoke of lamps which once gave light to the palace. Besides, have you not the ladies' bed, and the ladies' bath?—the former, native rock, some two feet in height and eight by four in length and breadth, carefully smoothed, with a lion half the size of life for head-board; the latter an irregular cistern hewn in the sloping side of the original summit spared just south of the bed.

Here, standing by the bath on the edge of the valley, we may pause to consider our route. We must cross the valley, but in what direction and with what special aim? Southward we see in the western face of the next ridge two uninteresting caves which will irresistibly tempt the conscientious sight-seer to a laborious and ill-rewarded clamber among sharp fragments, the spoil of modern quarries. But the outer, or eastern crest, has a rude building which looks more promising, and to that we will direct our steps. When, on the top of the new ridge, we find the eastern ridge somewhat lower, and separated from us by a deep cleft, some two feet broad, running the whole length of the ridge, we cannot forget the two or three lines of irregular narrow steps hewn along the western face, and wonder whether they can have been meant as the banquettes of a natural rampart; but the doubt rises only to be put away after a moment's thought. Passing the cleft, we find ourselves on a narrow ridge falling abruptly to the east, having its northern edge so steep that no one could mount it but for footholes, cut, we suppose, for the masons, and not successfully closed by the bricks and mortar with which they tried to restore the original surface of the rock. The *mundapum* to which we are

going, occupies the southern end of this ridge; and passing along a narrow ridge between it and the tangled brush of the cleft, we find ourselves on a space overhanging the tumbled rocks of the next gorge, and in front of the *mundapum*. It is a square building of rough stone without mortar, open wholly to the south, the slabs of the roof resting on the three walls and four squared shafts among the thorn-bushes within, and the projecting ends of the walls form a stair leading to the roof, the pleasantest, if not the most comfortable, lounge about the rocks; for here we catch every breath of air from every quarter, and hence we look down on the broad, bright view from the white line of ceaseless foam on the shore, to the sharp ridge of the hills to the west, with the towers of Trichiconum nestling among their peaks.

Going down the steps named in the northern edge of the rock, —a task easier for our barefooted guides than for us,—we find ourselves on a ledge leading to a cave directly under the lookout *mundapum*. Though the cave itself is but three bays broad, it has in front a portico never roofed, five bays, and the wings, the rock wall opposite the spare bays, bear the conch and discus of Vishnu in delicately incised lines. The elegance of these patterns, the roominess and airiness of the cave, the style of the pillars, are witnesses enough to its importance; but all its wall-reliefs have been carefully chiselled away, though so long after the excavation was finished that the darkness and freshness of the surface they covered makes their outline strongly marked; that on the south wall seems to have been a Krishna toying with the Gopis.

Scrambling into the plain level we find ourselves at the mouth of the southern valley, and crossing it a little way down, find, under a far over-hanging rock, a flight of narrow steps leading to the base of the hill, whereon is the inaccessible shrine, a roofless altar-like building of stone, on brick base, opening to the north. At the top we find, a little below us to the left, a green platform overhung on three sides by tall rocks, but opening to the south by a broad, rugged gorge. Here, just under the shrine, is a cave of three bays, containing the famous relief of the struggle between Durga and the buffalo-headed demon Mahes. The goddess, a most elegant, girlish figure, mounted on a rushing lion, is leaning back to give full force to the javelin which her outstretched right hand is about to launch on the retreating demon, and her spare hands, each with its weapon, having no visible attachment to



her body, are not associated with it in one's mind, and so do not make it monstrous. Indeed, it seems natural to fancy that the sculptor of this spirited and elegant work left the gross accessories to men of inferior powers and worse tastes, men whose pride are the master-pieces in the shore temple or their larger presentments here; for the recess of the shrine proper contains a bas-relief of Siva, &c., like those on the shore, and the pendant to the Durga relief is another coarse one of Vishnu sleeping on the snake. Descending the gorge to the south, and passing round the easternmost rock, to glance at the feeble attempt at imitation of the great reliefs near the village, we shall get back to quarters for a well-earned bath and rest in much less than the two hours.

We have spoken of every cave presenting any ornament save in the bases or bands of pillars, or an outlined flat entablature on the rock outside, or channels or holes in the floor which may be symbols, or sockets for symbols. The last mentioned is now the only one containing any work of artistic interest, though the defaced cave under the lookout *mundapum* may once have rivalled it. But in connection with the destruction of the carvings in that cave, it is curious to notice the existence of two classes of work,—the one evidently completed, and after a design; the latter suggested by some other work generally close by, often unfinished, and always evidencing that labor had become much scarcer as well as much worse. Thus the carvings near the village are really in relief; those on the southern rock cover a smaller surface, and are mere scratches, plain enough only to show that the workman wanted to imitate the figures of the other. The crest of a small rock opposite the Durga cave is blocked out for a tiny copy of the largest of the *raths*; it is much more like a child's first Noah's ark. There are three caves, too, of this class, looking more like the tottering mud-houses of children's play than excavations in granite, and with the original blockmarks even unsmoothed. Each is near another older temple, and at first we fancied them the leisure work of modern quarrymen, but soon acquitted these honest people of such extravagant folly. The three are found—one in the pair near the palmyra swamp visited on the way from the churn to the Palatine, one in the pair seen looking southward from the latter hill, the third one of the pair in the rocks east of the Durga temple, seen in passing round the bas-relief rock there.

A walk of half a mile south of the hills through a palmyra grove springing out of heavy sand leads to the *raths*, but a cunning traveller escapes this by a different distribution of work. As of course every one travels in the night, and should manage to arrive at early dawn, the very best plan would be to do the hills in the morning, and reserve the rest of the sights for the afternoon; then, sallying out at four to meet the fresh sea breeze, he should visit the remains by the sea and walk along the firmer sands till opposite the *raths*, so escaping all but fifty yards of loose sand—just the passage of the sand hills—and avoiding them on the way back by walking through the fields to the like works near the canal (the ‘schools’ as our servant called them). This will be a walk of five or six miles, and so three hours will give plenty of time for sightseeing,—more assuredly than the *raths* are likely to take. For we cannot pretend to care much for them, though they be, as Fergusson holds, miniatures of Buddhist monasteries and temples. The same expiring energy which has thrown up these rocks has thrown up others to the south-east, but only seven are appropriated. Of these four are of shrines running in a line from north to south, while a large figure of a lion, and another of an elephant, partly buried in the sand, are seen half-way to the fifth rath, which lies a little to the west.

This name, “rath,” makes people expect them to be like the object properly so called—the car of an idol-procession, and the choice of name is singular, for three at least are far more like modern temple shrines and the others (the third and fifth) are like neither. The fifth is the most elegant in conception,—an oblong rock rounded into an apse at the north, and worked into a projecting portion at southern end, its upper part being carved in decreasing stages. To take the other four; the northern pair are square, completely hollowed; the first is empty, and the lines of its roof are convex; the second contains a bas-relief, and its upper portion is pyramidal in stages. The third is the largest and unfinished; the plan seems to have been to have an oblong hall of four aisles covered with a roof externally convex; but the excavation is only two-thirds finished, and an earthquake or other violent cause has split it through the middle from north-west to south-east, knocking away a fragment where the rift begins, and also the south-west corner.

The remaining one was to be, it seems, a square hall, with a projecting portico to the west, but the labourers stopped after excavating beyond this portico, and a sort of passage or verandah

on two other sides, though all the stages of the upper part have had their last touches. Here alone are many rudely carved figures, and the upper stages may have been more and better finished. Indeed we might have seen for ourselves, for on the south rises a rock not cut away, whereby the guide and those irrepressible boys scrambled up with ease, but we did not choose to "spread-eagle" against the wall to delight the world with failure. It is worth while to note that on three sides the different stages are, or have been, decorated with gurgoyles, but those of the north and south sides were hollowed for the actual discharge of water, and here the heads have fallen. It is curious to notice two works, side by side, both left unfinished, as though each had been made over to a separate gang, and both had been simultaneously and suddenly abandoned. It is curious, too, to notice that these works have their feeble imitation in the rocks near the back water; these are square with storied tops, but neither is excavated.

We spent two days and a half here; a shorter stay would have been too short, for Murray was no help; longer would have been tedious, for the same sights will not busy many mornings and many evenings, nor will the same few books enliven many days. But these two days were pleasant days, for the aspect of the place belied its barrenness. The broad belt of palmyras, which for miles divides the sloping sands of the beach from the levels, more or less green and moist, which stretch to the western hills, would seem to an Englishman witness to a kinder soil than the loose sand from which they spring, and from that sand, too, grow wild flowers which contrast with it almost as strangely as do the creepers and wiry shrubs of the clefts, with the naked, petrified rocks over which they spread. And there must be abundant pasture in the neighbourhood, at least at this season, for the cattle which furnish material for the bratties spread to dry on the slopes; and as the quarrymen must find employment here always, the little village can never be given over to the few Brahmins one had fancied its sole inhabitants. Nothing need be said of the journey back; six hours of daylight are apt to be wearisome when the two postures possible are squatting and lying, and when dull reading is only relieved by looking again and again to see if our starting-place has vanished. But even two miles an hour in a flat country will at last hide a hill a hundred feet

high. About 5 o'clock we passed Covelong, once a French station, with a church in a garden, a lofty gloomy house, divers store-houses, and a mosque close to the inlet. Then a little walk, then dinner, then chilled but dreamless sleep, and so to the journey's end.

ART. II.—*Memorandum by Captain J. G. Forbes, R.E., Superintendent, Irrigation Works, Oudh, on Irrigation Works in the Madras Presidency, with remarks by Colonel R. Strachey, R.E., Inspector-General of Irrigation Works.*

IT often to the uninitiated is a matter of intense marvel that such extraordinary differences of opinion upon subjects connected with hydraulic engineering should be found to exist among the men professing to be experts in that art. They, the outsiders, have got a hazy notion that hydraulic engineering is based upon the exact sciences, and that its problems should be as capable of being worked out to an unerring solution by deductive process as any problem in Euclid. In point of fact, however, so large a proportion of the art is thoroughly empirical, that the most exhaustive knowledge of formulæ will not suffice to make a man an efficient hydraulic engineer until he has had a very considerable amount of practical experience. Oddly enough, this fact is overlooked even by the experts themselves, which doubtless accounts for the unreasonable manner in which Madras Engineers find fault with Bengal Engineers for not being adepts in matters of which they have little or no experience, and in which also Bengal engineers devote their wits and energies to trying to depreciate Madras works, and to prove their failure in theory in spite of their having been successful in fact. So in days not very long gone by did Dr. Lardner maintain that steam-boats could not cross the Atlantic. So did other learned Thebans maintain that to run a locomotive on a railroad at the rate of twelve miles an hour was simply absurd in its utter impossibility. So also were galvanism and gas pooh-poohed for very exquisite philosophical reasons, until they took their places among the "eternal veracities," and began to do substantial work-a-day service in the world. But we are not aware that many philosophers persisted in ignoring them *after* they had become "great facts," nor even in depreciating their utility. It was reserved for the wise men of the East to insinuate that the success of successful things was illusory or ephemeral, to prophesy eventual failure, to exaggerate the cost and explain away the supposed profits, and when the success was indisputable and no obscuration possible, to hint

that it was more by luck than cunning, the result of accident rather than the reward of skill.

It is perfectly possible that all this may be done without any spiteful intention, or any conscious unfaithfulness to truth; nay, it may even be done without any personal jealousy, without any personal tinge whatever, except from that adherence to one's own ideas, which, when right, is called self-reliance and firmness, and, when wrong, self-conceit and obstinacy. A man trained to a certain curriculum of thought is hard to convince that it can possibly be wrong, or inadequate to enable him to understand everything connected with his own business; he does not see why he should change his old *mumpsimus* for this new-fangled *sumpsimus*. And surely he ought to know, considering he has been mumbling it all his life. He thinks the man who would teach him anything new, vain and impertinent, and although in these present days when everybody affects ultra candour, he professes the utmost readiness to investigate and accept the novelty if true, still, by natural instinct, his investigation inclines much more towards finding fault than towards recognising excellence; he does not intentionally depreciate—very far from it; but he finds it too much to admit that any other men have found out more than himself and his masters, without the consolatory proviso that their discoveries were not absolutely perfect after all.

The Memorandum specified in the heading of this article is a curious illustration how, with the very best intentions, a zealous and intelligent officer may “miss his tip,” may be led into misconceptions, may put himself in the way of being suspected of misrepresentations (though we firmly believe that the remarks which appear so are attributable to the natural instinct aforesaid, and not to any ill-feeling), and may even fail to comprehend not only much of what he sees, but even what it was his business to look for.

It is hard to guess what the *raison d'être* of this Memorandum can be. As a mere jotting of the chief points of interest which struck the author individually during his tour of inspection among the Madras irrigation works, it was hardly worth the trouble of writing, for so much of the remarks as are true are anything but new, and the one or two original ideas have the bad luck to be blunders. If the Memorandum was intended to throw any light upon the subject of the construction of irrigation works upon the rivers of Northern India—which, by the way, we always understood to be the special object for which the tour of inspection

was undertaken—it was, if possible, less valuable still; for the first part of it is too trite, and all the rest too irrelevant, to be even suggestive. The tour of inspection seems to have been a rapid rush through a portion of the Southern Presidency, employed in looking at all those irrigation works which had the least possible resemblance to the potential irrigation works of Northern India, and in carefully eschewing the examination of any which might possibly bear a resemblance, or exist under analogous conditions.

Captain Forbes looks at the Coleroon, Kistna, and Godavery irrigation works, and comes to the important conclusions that large deltaic streams are not the same sort of thing as mountain torrents running down steep declivities; that there is a difference between one foot and twenty feet per mile in the fall of a river; that rocks are not sand; that spasmodic debacles of water and freshets rising gradually and slowly are by no means identical; and that works which might be suitable to the one might probably not be suitable to the other. Unquestionably true. So likewise two and two make four, and an oyster knife is not a razor, and a pound weighs more than two ounces. It is possible that there may be people in the world to whom these truisms are new discoveries; and if so, it is doubtless right that somebody should take the trouble to explain them, but we should certainly have expected to see the explanation in a "lesson book for infant minds," rather than in a grave official document intended for the edification of the Government of India.

Having, to his own satisfaction, proved the mysterious fact that the lower end of a Madras river is different from the upper end of a Himalayan river, and that the rules for damming the one may not be applicable to the other, Captain Forbes devotes no less than eighteen long paragraphs—more than half of his entire Memorandum—to remarks upon that one of all the Madras rivers which bears the very least resemblance to a Himalayan torrent, and the works upon which are beyond all other Madras works the least suited to be models for irrigation works in Northern India. With what object all this irrelevant matter about the Cauvery was brought in, it is hard to conceive, unless it were for the sake of an opportunity

"To hint a fault and hesitate dislike,"

and, to some small extent, *take the shine* out of the works that have been so often quoted as the most profitable example of Madras irrigation.

It is odd that Captain Forbes did not inspect some of the old works upon the *upper* portions of the rivers of Southern India, which really might furnish useful hints for the sub-Himalayan regions. There *are* such to be found in Mysore, Coimbatore, Travancore, &c., often in situations exactly representing Captain Forbes's description of the Northern streams. There are rivers with "excessive slopes," in "close proximity to the hills," with "many and constant floods," "tearing down with great swiftness in spasmodic *debacles* of water," and on these rivers are anicuts, many of which have been standing "secularly," costing very little for repair, doing their work very well, and in every respect well suited to throw light on the subject of damming the hill streams of Northern India; yet, for all we can find, they were never visited!—seem indeed (though that is hardly possible) never even to have been heard of. One river, however, of which Captain Forbes *did* hear—the Palaur—a river with a fall of ten feet per mile, and which, though a far worse likeness of the Himalayan streams than those just alluded to, is nevertheless a nearer resemblance than either the Cauvery, Kistna, or Godavery, remained unvisited. It was very easy of access from Madras. Captain Forbes knew there was an anicut upon it; he even quotes this anicut in illustration of one of his views, and yet he never took the trouble to go and see it.

While it is plain from the internal evidence of this Memorandum that its author is zealously anxious, as far as in him lies, to contribute his little modicum of information to the enlightenment of the Government he serves, it is equally clear that from simple want of experience his powers of contribution are extremely limited. As far as regards irrigation works on the large scale, indeed, he appears not even to possess sufficient knowledge to enable him to appreciate his own deficiency.

There is one queer specimen of a blunder in Para. 6.—"I think," says Captain Forbes, "that it is admitted that the effect of placing an anicut across a river is to cause the river bed to silt up on the up-stream side to the level of the top of the weir; and it is on account of this action that I presume it has been found necessary in Madras to continue raising the anicuts in order somewhat to keep pace with the rising of the bed. For on the Cauvery works the grand anicut and the upper Coleroon anicut have both been raised since their first construction, and a proposition is now before Government to raise these works still higher. The Godavery anicut, built in 1851,



" had two feet added to its height in 1862-66. Whether the " Kistna anicut\* has been raised since it was first built, I cannot " state; but situated as it is at a spot where the river is very much " contracted, the silting up above is probably much less than in " the other rivers; in fact, the tendency apparently is to cut, and " not to silt. In 1864, the Palaur anicut was raised two feet, and " in the same year the three anicuts alluded to in para. 5, when " being reconstructed, possibly had some addition made to their " height." This paragraph is quite a curiosity in its way, and even lack of experience fails to account in full for such a tissue of misconception. For had Captain Forbes made enquiry upon the subject, he would have found that the raising of the Godavery anicut was not "in order somewhat to keep pace with the rising of the bed," but in order to throw more water into the channels. This might have been done either by widening the said channels, or by raising the dam; and as the latter process was the more economical, and had also the additional advantage of improving the depth of water in the channels for navigation, it was of course preferred. Had he made enquiry with regard to the Cauvery works, he would have found that here also the object was to send more water down the channels, and also to raise their surface level, the latter requirement being, however, due not to any silting up of the river bed above the anicut, but to the silting up of certain portions of the irrigated land below the anicut, where there is a very slow rising of the land in progress, caused by the deposit spread thereon by the water from the anicut channels. The Palaur anicut was raised for the same reason, certainly not to prevent water passing over the work, which is simply absurd. Wherever any anicut has been raised, in short, it has been for the purpose of improving the irrigation by diverting a larger portion of the flood waters.

But did it never occur to Captain Forbes to ask himself the question, what effect the silting up of the up-stream side of a dam to the level of the top of the weir could possibly have on the surface level of the flood water flowing over the weir? and for what possible reason? He knows by heart, of course, all the rules and formulæ for the solution of all the hydraulic problems; he can compute the velocities from the altitudes, and the altitudes from the velocities; he can calculate the depth of water on a weir if he knows its length and discharge, but does he know any rule which makes the mere fact of the small segment of the bed upon the up-stream side of a dam being filled to the level of its crest with

sand instead of water exert any appreciable influence over either discharge, depth, or velocity?

In connection with this subject, we find it asserted that "no under-sluices yet tried in the Madras anicuts have been found effectual in getting rid of the accumulation at the heads of the irrigation channels." This is not strictly correct. It is quite true that the under-sluices have, on the whole, failed to get rid of the accumulation above the weir which they were expected to dispose of. In the Cauvery and Coleroon anicuts, these sluices are distributed here and there along the dam, some being in the very middle of the river; it was, we believe, supposed that they would cause local scours to take place, the effect of which would be to keep the mass of accumulation from rising to the level of the top of the dam. They have not done so; their action is indicated by a faint and irregular depression immediately opposite each sluice, but extending up-stream to hardly any distance, so that their influence in keeping down accumulation must be very slight; on the other hand, they often do positive mischief by creating a scour along the face of the work. But where, instead of being distributed along the dam, the entire scouring powers are collocated at the ends and in close proximity to the heads of the irrigation or navigation channels, they most certainly are very efficacious in keeping a deep stream open; and though of course there must always be some small space of comparatively dead water between the under-sluices and the bank, it is reduced to a minimum, and a very little dredging suffices to keep the heads clear. The under-sluices of the Godavery, Kistna and Pennair anicuts, though not as powerful or as well placed as they might be, are nevertheless quite sufficient to illustrate this.

Another curious mistake, which we attributed at first to a clerical error, may be found in the reason assigned for there being little or no cutting below the upper Coleroon anicut, *videlicet*, that there could have been very slight or no action at the tail on account of the very great water way of the river below the work! This is incomprehensible. The effect of great water way below a weir would plainly be that the water would run off all the more rapidly—supposing the fall the same, and that so the apron would be more exposed and the action at the tail greater. The severe trials to which the Kistna anicut has been exposed, owing to its having been built in a gorge below which the river expands and furnishes the "great water way" which carries off the water so rapidly, will illustrate this view. The real truth in the matter

of the upper Coleroon anicut appears to be almost exactly the reverse. True, the river is very wide immediately below the dam, but then it not only narrows somewhat lower down, but also in high freshes receives a supplemental influx of water from the Cauvery below the weir, so that when the floods rise to about eight feet above the low level, there is a considerable back water on the dam, and by the time they have reached their maximum height, the obstructive effect of the anicut is only to be recognised by a slight ripple on the surface of the water. So that the tail apron of the work escapes being seriously damaged, not because the water runs away so quickly, but because it does not.

We must, however, make allowance for a certain looseness of expression which we find in the Memorandum, which in some cases probably fails to give the full sense of what the author means. For instance, he talks of its being only a question of degree as to whether a dam can be made across a river discharging 10,000 or 100,000 cubic feet per second, and does not consider such difference of importance when comparing rivers with reference to such construction; and again, in para. 4, he appears to lay the entire stress upon the slopes of the rivers, taking no notice of relative depths, which are quite as indispensable towards determining the velocity and moment of the flood. Again, concerning the theoretical best site for an anicut, which, leaving other considerations out of the question for the present, he defines to be a certain hypothetical neutral point in a river where it has just left off scouring, and not yet begun to silt,—“a point which, *although continually shifting*, may for all practical purposes “be considered to be at the spot where the shingle ceases, and “the sandy bed commences, and another advantage in placing “the dam or anicut here would be that *at this spot the discharge available from the river is a maximum.*” The italics are ours.

It is not said whether the anicut itself is to be continually shifting as well as the point; but if not, the advantages, such as they are, might be somewhat precarious. Neither is it shown why the discharge available at that particular point should be a maximum. Is the said point necessarily always just below all the affluents, and just above all the deltaic branches? We admit that, as far as theory is concerned, whenever a river erodes its bed in the upper reaches, and elevates them in the lower, there must at all times be some point, more or less extensive, which is neutral, or a point of no action, or, as

Colonel Strachey prefers to call it, a highest point of stability. One of the phrases is as good as another, and none of them practically worth much on account of that same "continual shifting," which is the only certain part of the whole hypothesis. Now of course if there is such a neutral point, and it is possible to discover it, and it is not given to shifting more than a mile or two either way, it would be so far the best site for an anicut (if one was wanted there) as results from its being the spot where a wall could be built across the stream with the smallest section, and at the least expense ;—advantages no doubt, if by good luck they can be secured along with the more important considerations, but in themselves the very smallest of all possible inducements to build an anicut. Such a work has for its object the artificial irrigation of certain land, and its site should be that from whence it can do so best. No engineer in his senses would sacrifice irrigating power for the sake of saving a few rupees on his dam. We do not doubt for a moment that Captain Forbes is perfectly well aware of all this, but he probably fancied he had got hold of an original idea concerning this said neutral point, and could not resist the temptation to make the most of it.

Further on in this Memorandum, we have sundry remarks upon the silting process going on in the Cauvery and Coleroon, the elevation of their beds, and also of the delta lands watered from them. Taken in connection with the presumed object of the inspection of the Madras irrigation works, we can only suppose the object of the said remarks to be to enhance the expensiveness of irrigation works in general, for in no other way can we see much relevancy to the question of what should be done in Northern India. It seems to be insinuated that this elevating process has been, and still is, going on at such a rate as must naturally involve continual remodellings of the irrigation works, and the construction of new heads. We would, however, observe that, although as an abstract fact there can be no doubt that the whole delta of the Cauvery is gradually rising, still as the process has been going on for ages, it must be extremely slow. Colonel O'Connell, an officer peculiarly well qualified to be an authority upon this subject, has placed it on record that "there is no evidence to show that the Cauvery has silted up throughout its course, "except to so minute an extent as to deserve attention only "from a geological point of view."

Captain Forbes points out that, previous to the construction of the upper Coleroon anicut, complaints regarding the silting

up of the Cauvery were confined to the upper parts of the delta ; now, however, the same complaints are beginning to be heard about the lower portion, there having been a very considerable falling off of cultivation in the Eastern talooks of Tanjore in consequence of the river below Combaconum obtaining no proper supply of water except during its highest freshes. The Revenue Officers attribute this evil to a gradual filling up of the river channel with sand, and proposed to expend a large sum of money to clear it out. At the same time, from the absence of any allusion to a falling off of irrigation in any other part of the delta, Captain Forbes presumes that the upper part is in good order, *i.e.*, that the state of affairs which existed thirty years ago is now reversed.

There is a good deal of misconception here. The Cauvery, or rather that one of the deltaic branches which continues to bear that name, is half a mile wide at Trichinopoly, and dwindles down to eighteen feet by the time it reaches the sea, the water of the main Cauvery being distributed among dozens of such branches, thence into smaller branches, thence on to the fields, so that very little of it remains ever to run into the sea at all, and the little that does find its way there dribbles down by some sixteen outlets scattered along the coast from Devicottah to beyond Point Calimere ! Of these branches, channels, or rivers as they are called by the natives, the beds of some are every year slightly depressed, the beds of others slightly silted, and the action of one year often rectifies the action of its predecessor. A multitude of small works intended to aid in this rectification are constructed every year, and occasionally clearances are made. A good deal of this work is executed by the cultivators at their own expense, and nothing is heard about them beyond the district. The cultivators are especially ready cheerfully to undertake such work in the richer, more fertile, better drained portions of the delta ; that is, generally speaking, the upper portions, which are always perfectly safe with regard to irrigation, as they can and often do steal the water shares of their neighbours lower down *en passant*. But in the case of the lower and less important part of the country, the cultivators were less inclined to incur the expense ; the revenue and engineer authorities differed both as to cause and cure of the evil ; the matter was reported to Government, and so became public ; and thus one or two very insignificant facts have got distorted into an entire reversal of the state of affairs previous to the construction of the upper Coleroon anicut, and perhaps may come to be

considered as an inferential proof of the mischievous effect of anicuts in general!

Captain Forbes appears to be zealously devoted to economy—a tendency beyond all praise when it makes a man averse to waste and needless extravagance, but one of those virtues which lean to vice's side when it acts as a dissuasive from unmistakably profitable investments. Captain Forbes is painfully conscious that money has been spent, and must be spent, upon anicuts. He does not indeed say much about the nominal first cost; the facts are too stubborn in this respect, but he moans over the cost of maintenance, or rather over what he calls such, the frightful outlay upon repairs, the enormous amount of stone—stated in cubic feet to make the numbers more impressive—that has been added to certain anicuts since they became what Captain Forbes calls completed, that is to say, extended from one bank of the river to the other. He tells us that “at the Kistna anicut there was deep cutting both up-stream and down-stream, and every year a large quantity of stone is thrown in below the work to fill up holes and extend the apron. The length of the anicut is 3,750 feet, and during the months of April, June and November, 1866, 347,328 cubic feet of stone were thrown in below the anicut alone.”

“At the Godavery anicut \* \* \* during the fifteen years from 1850 to 1866, an average amount of 325,000 cubic feet of stone has yearly been thrown in below the anicut, besides a large quantity annually thrown in above the work for the protection of the island, &c., and in addition to these amounts, 1,350,000 cubic feet of rough stone were thrown in from 1862 to 1866, in order to extend the apron consequent upon the raising of the anicut.”

Now, a very little practical experience of anicuts is sufficient to show that a very large proportion of this rough stone, although thrown in after the work has been nominally completed, is really debitable to first cost, because it constitutes an essential item of the first conception. When a dam is first constructed, the stone thrown in to constitute the tail apron, and in fact all stone whatever thrown in, whether for groynes, grouting, or any other purpose, sinks by degrees into the sand, and thereby forms a foundation for future additions. As more is added, the sinking goes on until the whole mass has taken up its natural set; it is of course necessary to increase the mass during the first years, both in height and depth. At length when a sufficient base, a sufficient depth, and a sufficient slope have been attained for stability, the

mass may be said to have assumed the normal condition of a rough stone apron, and thenceforward the supply of rough stone for repair will be comparatively small, but until that normal condition has been taken up, the expense ought justly to be debited to prime cost. And let it not be deemed a matter of small moment, whether the expenditure be debited to prime cost or to repairs. If the debit be to repairs, the inference is that similar annual expenditure will be eternal; if the debit be to prime cost, it is intelligible that the drain will be but temporary, at any rate to such an extent. Three-fifths at least of this additional stone may fairly be charged to first cost, which would make the expenditure on construction of the Godavery anicut (fourteen feet high) only Rs. 154 per running foot, while the *bonâ fide* repairs would be about one per cent. only on the cost of the work. In plain English, both prime cost and repairs, as compared with the profit of the work, are mainly remarkable for extraordinary cheapness.

The impression left upon a perfectly unprejudiced mind by the perusal of this Memorandum would probably be that the Madras irrigation works were but precarious benefits after all; that they were much more costly than was generally supposed; that they were always liable to come to grief at a moment's notice; certain to exhaust their capabilities sooner or later, requiring meanwhile continual additions and alterations to keep them up to the mark, and owing such real advantages as they at present possess mainly to the accident of position. That irrigation works in the North of India would be still more precarious, still more costly, and still less likely to return even a temporary profit. That therefore it would be prudent to look long and well before attempting to construct such works in Northern India, possibly most prudent of all to postpone all consideration of them to the Greek Kalends. Whether intended or not, there is a disheartening tone about the Memorandum—a sensation of wet blanket, and all owing, as has been observed, entirely to misapprehension.

We sincerely hope that this disheartening influence may not take effect upon the authorities with whom it rests to advocate the construction of irrigation works in Northern India. If it should throw any additional obstacle in their way, or prove in the least a hindrance to the improvement of the country, the zealous author will have done a disservice to the State which he himself will be among the first to regret. His conclusion that since “a heavy annual charge must be incurred for

“protecting the down stream aprons of anicuts, the expense of maintaining anicuts in proper order in Upper India will be proportionately much greater than in Madras on account of the very excessive slope and constant erosion of their beds,” is, as we have just shown, based originally upon a misconception. The constant erosion which Captain Forbes is afraid of, is disbelieved by the Inspector-General of Irrigation.

It is possible that the up-stream side of an anicut in the sub-Himalayan regions may silt up as quick, perhaps quicker than that of one upon a Madras delta river, but the elevation of the bed will certainly not extend so far up-stream, and we have already shown that such elevation is in itself no serious evil—indeed no evil at all. So long as the channels leading to the head sluices can be kept clear, the silting in front of the waste weir only serves to strengthen the work and make it more water-tight. The amount of danger to the work on its lower or down-stream side, and the consequent expenses for repairs, must be dependent mainly upon the dam being judiciously planned with reference to fall, depth, velocity and moment of the floods. If we take a model from a weir on a Madras river with a fall of two feet per mile, and with servile fidelity reproduce it on a river of Northern India with a fall of ten or twelve feet per mile, making it exactly the same in height, section, and every particular, the expense for repairs would then indeed be enormously heavy, supposing the work survived the first flood season sufficiently to be repaired at all. But no man in his senses would propose to do such a thing as that. As a general rule, a much less height of dam suffices on a river with a rapid fall to bring the water out upon the fields within a moderate distance; so that the engineer may usually recoup himself for the loss threatened by the steep inclination of the bed, by reducing the height of his weir, and of course its other dimensions proportionately.

We will quote an illustration from a report by an officer of great authority in these matters. “Suppose a deltaic stream flowing in a channel thirty feet deep, with a fall of two feet per mile, through a country of the same slope; and, on the other hand, a river with a slope of eight feet per mile, flowing in a channel forty feet deep. In the first case, with an anicut sixteen feet high, the water would reach the surface of the land in a distance of seven miles from the head; in the second case, with an anicut only eight feet high, it would reach the surface in a distance of four miles. (The channels led off are supposed level, to simplify the case.) In the first the natural flood current of five



“ miles an hour would be increased by the anicut to 10·7 miles  
“ over that work ; in the other the natural current of about ten  
“ miles per hour would be increased to 12·8. So that the velocity  
“ over the second would only be two miles an hour more than  
“ over the first, and even that could be got rid of by still further  
“ lowering the second dam, while yet the water would reach the  
“ surface as soon as from the first dam.” The truth is, that with  
properly planned anicuts the expense of maintenance need be no  
greater in Northern India than in the South.

At the same time be it observed that we do not admit for a moment that even if it *were* greater, it would constitute any valid excuse for refusing to undertake the works. The *raison d'être* of an anicut is to irrigate the country, improve the wealth and comfort of the people, prevent famines, and, secondarily, to return a reasonable profit to its constructors. If it can be built so as to fulfil these conditions in any given spot where it is required, that is enough to justify its erection—may more, to render it imperative.

It may be assumed as certain that no two anicuts will ever be exactly the same as to cost, whether for construction or maintenance, because it is not probable that any two sites will ever be found exactly similar in every particular. It is quite possible that of two anicuts, the most efficient, that is, the one that does the most remunerative work, may have been cheaper, not relatively, but actually as to hard cash, per running foot, than the other less useful one ; but if the less useful one does work enough to cover its expense and a trifle over, it is quite enough to justify its existence. One work may yield a net profit of thirty per cent ; another of only fifteen ; another of seven or eight, the difference being due to unavoidable causes. Very good. Eight per cent or even seven is worth having when there is no more to be got ; to say nothing of the other contingent advantages which in point of fact we are overlooking too much. We are regarding the construction of irrigation works too much from a joint-stock Company's point of view ; we think of dividends, and grudge investing at seven per cent when we find our neighbours have done it at fifteen. But from the statesman's point of view, the dividend side of the question is not the one to be mainly regarded, only indeed to be regarded so far as to guard against loss ; it is not even to be desired that Government should raise a high revenue by the sale of water ; it is quite enough that they cover their expenses with a margin over as a reserve in case of accidents.

The primary object of the State in constructing irrigation works must be to produce food for the people. The increase to the general wealth, the consequent increase to the revenue in all its branches, the multiplication of employment, the bettered condition of the laboring classes, the probable consequent diminution of crime, the certain diminution of pauperism, all these will follow in the train of successful irrigation works as matters of course ; they are as it were the rewards of virtue, and are none the less certain and none the less agreeable, because the prime motive of virtue ought not to be reward, but duty—the duty of guarding against famine and scarcity so far as in us lies, the duty of so caring for the welfare of the people entrusted to our charge as to ensure that if ever in future they perish by starvation, or suffer the miseries of drought and famine and all the evils that attend them, it shall at any rate be by no fault or negligence of our own.

### ART. III.—COMPARATIVE HINDUISM.

FOUR years ago there appeared in the pages of this *Review* a laborious and deeply-interesting article, entitled "Phases of Hinduism." The accomplished author sketched, but too briefly and with too little reference to the influence of immigrants of different race and religion, the steps by which the nature worship of the Vedic period became the degrading idolatry of modern Hindus, and how from the very corruption of this last was springing a reform, the bright hopes of which are now too soon clouded. He showed, in fact, historically the great differences between the popular form of the religion at different times. 'We would now, narrowly and superficially, illustrate the differences at the same time to be observed between the form of distant places, which yet, to use a phrase now well known, are in 'full communion.' Our comparison shall be between the North-West Provinces and Southern Madras. Or rather, assuming a knowledge of the former, we will name some points in which the *use* of the other differs. And we will begin, not indeed with a theogony or a history of Hindu architecture, but with a general sketch of a Tamil pagoda.

The essential part of the temple is of course the consecrated image or symbol, with its shrine girt round by sundry courts, each with more or less striking buildings in proportion to the popularity of the place and the zeal of devotees. The inner court seems in all cases to contain, besides the shrine, a smaller one for the consort, the treasury, a pillared hall or two, and sundry chambers for devotees and attendant ministers; but even when looking down immediately on this sacred precinct, we cannot distinguish the holiest shrine by position, or by magnificence of size, material, or workmanship. It is probably not in the middle; it is probably much of the same size, and covered by much such a pyramidal roof, as others, while the brick core is overlaid with ornaments of the same pattern and in the same plaster. Its crest-spikes indeed are gilt, but so are those of the consort's shrine, and so may be those of any others. It may seem strange that there should be so little fundamental difference between the cell of the most famous temple and the new shrine of a poor village. Fergusson would account for it by suggesting that the original

shrine was too holy ever to be removed, even for the most magnificent successor ; but it may be doubted whether this is more than part of the truth. There is no need of a larger building, and little temptation to erect one. We believe, indeed, though just now we cannot quote an authority, that the interior of a Hindu shrine must be a true cube, and this canon would place very narrow limits to the possible size of the building. But, as it is to contain the one small image or symbol and its trappings only, very little space is necessary or desirable. Making their gods creatures of like, but worse, natures with ourselves, tickled by the same childish pleasures, exposed to the same diseases, the Brahmans suppose they must want like privacy for like rest. As there is no idea of common worship, indeed as every act can more profitably be done by proxy if that proxy be a Brahman, very narrow space suffices for all daily services ; and where mystery is prized, roominess is not. Besides, as the erection of a shrine is an act of great merit, rewarded by a mansion in the heaven of the god honored for a time proportioned to the duration of the shrine, to pull down an existing shrine, and build another in its room, would be to cheat the first founder, while to enlarge it would be to add to his reward.\* From this feeling we have known a roadside tank in the north fall in ruins, because the representative of its builder would let no one else repair it, nor would any one else touch it without his consent. In general, perhaps, any enlargement or improvement of the *cella* has been the work of the temple-brahmans, at their joint charge, in the course of necessary repairs. Instances may doubtless be given of a different plan, as when Trimul Naik built a new shrine for Perumal (Vishnu the Hunter).

Without touching the shrine, however, there is abundant room for magnificent and profitable devotion. Each new court with its vaster and vaster gateways, those laboriously-adorned pyramids of almost solid brick, is a noble offering

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\* The famous pagoda of Tanjore is the single instance of another plan, of vertical instead of horizontal enlargement ; and if we knew the real history of the temple, this might perhaps be easily explained. It occupies a full third of the citadel, so the exigencies of defence probably explain it sufficiently ; otherwise, if it be ancient, we must ascribe the plan to the influence of Buddhist example, for they enlarged their shrines by simply adding an extra shell to the sacred core ; if modern, we must suppose the Mahratta dynasty remembered the great buildings of the North.

of one generation, though later comers be left to enrich it with shrines and tanks, halls, porticoes and galleries. And the general conditions of the scene were security enough that there should be no gross discord between the fragments so accidentally assembled. The court itself would be rectangular or nearly so, and the lines of the enclosed buildings must be parallel to its sides ; the buildings themselves, as seen from the court, would either be screened with blank walls, or consist merely of ranges of pillars supporting terrace roofs ; there would be no windows, no arches, no soaring superstructure ; and there need be no carefully-balanced grouping where the buildings need not adjoin, as in a country where air is always welcome, and nothing is desired but protection from the vertical sun. And both court and hall have their use ; the one enlarges the circle of the god's common perambulations, the other gives him a new resting-place when' he leaves the recesses of his peculiar dwelling and the adoration of his special most favored servants to bless the eyes of crowds of his meaner worshippers.

However, notwithstanding the exclusion of the most characteristic features of the various Gothic styles, there are marked differences of plan and detail which would make easy to a careful examiner, architectural classification of the different buildings and parts of buildings, while the legends and records of the priests might then give ground enough for fixing their dates. Of the various shapes and proportions and composition of pillar and bracket, or of the details of the ornamentation, we of course have no room to speak, but may well note here one matter wherein are differences so strongly marked, that they may be taken as characteristics of contrasted styles. In the earliest and still commonest form, the entrance to the inmost court is but an unsheltered gateway in the blank wall ; then a shallow porch grew up outside, as in the Vaishnavite temple at Conjeveram ; then this broadened into a deeper open portico extending the whole breadth of the wall, as in the Alsur pagoda at Bangalore, or lengthened into a covered colonnade stretching all across the court, as in the pagoda of Jambukeswar at Trichinopoly. This, with its cross arm ending on one side in a pillared hall, seems to have been a point of departure for an important variation : for all great feasts it was and is customary to make a covered way that the god might not be discomforted on his way to the pillared halls, and the temporary roof would rest on permanent stone shafts, or on the white trunks of flourishing cotton trees, or on posts erected for the time ; the

substitution, therefore, of such a permanent portico was a magnificent improvement, while the cross-arm must directly have suggested the continuation of this colonnade all round the court, to shelter the god in the whole circuit of his march. Accordingly, in the great temples south of the Cauvery, those of Madura, Tinnevely, and Rameswaram, we find that there is such a covered processional way, and that further (we speak from personal knowledge in the case of the two former) the portico of the inner court has been broadened, so as to run the whole length of the wall, and widened, so as to reach and join the eastern arm of the colonnade, and that even beyond the middle court the portico stretches all across the outer, and even as a porchway beyond the outmost gate.

Thus, while admitting that our classification is affected as much by the popularity as the antiquity of a shrine, and probably more by locality, we would set in one class temples without porticoes, in another those with porticoes leading from the shrine to pillared halls, in a third those with a continuous cloister. But the majority of temples probably fall within the first class or the second, while the third differ from the Buddhist remains of the North, *e.g.*, of Jaunpur, in that the cloister of the South is for procession merely, that of the North for discussions or abiding places of students or devotees.

From a little distance, then, nothing is seen of a pagoda but the irregular group of *gopurams*, the towering pyramids which mark where gateways pierce the massive walls. Contrary to expectation, these are not necessarily, nor even usually, in the middle of the sides, nor, though elaborate rules are laid down for the proportion of the height of the *gopuram* to the length of the side, are the opposite pairs by any means concordant in height, to say nothing of ornamentation. Originally each had its stair of ascent, passing from end to end at each landing, but now probably only one is in a state to be mounted; bad ventilation and foul odours will generally make the adventurer very doubtful, whether the labor and discomfort of the ascent would be repaid by a landscape far more lovely than the wide-spread green plain which is the best view he can hope for; yet, if he do not mount the *gopuram*, he may leave without seeing even the pinnacles of the shrine. All this is of course as different as possible from anything we see in the North-West, where the *cella* itself is everything, and even the famous temple of Biseswarnath has but a small court around the shrine, covers altogether less space than one of the halls or minor shrines

dependent on one of these southern temples, would scarcely, indeed, be thought worthy of a respectable village, and is open to the lowest possible worshipper, or any curious sight-seer. The reason of this difference doubtless is that in the South, Hinduism had full six centuries of unquestioned supremacy, while in the North it had scarce gained its final victory over Buddhism, ere it had to struggle against a bitterer bigotry in Muhammadanism, so that the North probably never saw any great original buildings of pure Hinduism, while those of the era of the struggle, and those appropriated from the Buddhists, were destroyed by Aurangzeb, or earlier iconoclast princes.

None will desire a verbal description of the varying ground-plans of these several temples, but the true shrine is probably much the same in all; and as the exigencies of war have desecrated the once famous pagoda of Vellore by turning it into a magazine, we may from that guess even what the penetralia of Seringham and Madura are like. It is divided into two parts by a short, narrow passage with low doorways on the south; on the left is the doorway of the shrine, on the right that of a low hall with a flat vault, on the north of which is a recess for the consort. Beyond the shrine is a low, flat hall, to which two or three tiny rifts give just light enough to make darkness visible, and to which the only access is by squeezing along the outer wall of the shrine. These two halls are probably of later date, so that originally the shrine-door was fully exposed, and the morning sun shone to the very back of the shrine. This is a cube of about eight feet, and has in front a chamber of about the same height and breadth, but perhaps twelve feet long, while the outer ante-chamber is perhaps twelve feet square. All the masonry is well and closely finished, without the least crevice for light, and, as far as our feeble lights showed, without a trace of ornament. What were the contents and uses of these different chambers in old times, we do not pretend to say. Masons assert that the Royal Arch degree will gain admission even to the inmost shrine; but then they are rather free with assertions of the privileges of their mysteries. Others, as well informed perhaps, when attacked on a different line, tell you that the Master-Mason's is the highest degree open to the world at large, and that the higher ones rise so in their teaching that Christians alone can be initiated; the Grand Master perhaps may know which party is mistaken, and even might solve for us our present problem.

Yet it is whispered that the inmost shrine of such temples contains nothing but a plain solid cube, perhaps of pure gold ; that before it stands the emblem or the image ; and that the secret worship in that mysterious recess is about as like the coarse ceremonial of the god's dinner hour without, as is Doctor Newman's practical belief to that of the scum of Roman streets. But, being neither Brahmans nor Royal Arches, *we* know nothing.

Those great fortresses, however, with their four-fold and seven-fold walls of cut granite, those vast and gloomy halls, those small dark dens—the very kernel of all, are not the only shrines in which the gods delight. There are many sacred groves in whose shady recesses is a little terrace and screen, whereon an image is placed in state looking down a long avenue of courtiers and caparisoned horses standing in respectful readiness for the notice and use of their master, which also is the work of the potter, and owes his state robes to the white-washer. We visited a famous one near Cuddalore. It is a large tangled thicket of stiff thorny shrubs, some twelve feet high, with a dense undergrowth, which well-mannered people leave to the resident snakes. There are large trees, banyans and others, on the other side of the road and round about, but not, if memory serves us, in the grove itself. The god here worshipped is Siva, and his image—about a foot high—stands in a nook on a low dais of brick between two female figures, and divers duplicates of him stand about. The broad alley of the grove and its narrower windings are bordered with images of horses, or of men. Of the latter, one is curious : it is the figure of an European, in the costume of fifty years back, but barefoot, lounging on his cot, and holding the hookah snake as though conversing ; it is singularly well modelled for its size, and its presence is doubtless accounted for by some strange story. The others are offered by pilgrims. One not yet finished disclosed the *modus operandi* ; the different parts are modelled separately by the potter and burnt, and then are built up, a pier supporting the different pieces of the barrel, &c., till the mortar sets ; then come the plaster and whitewash and final touches as to the caparison, and the god rejoices in another charger, for courtiers seem no longer in fashion. He must want a good many horses, for he rides round the world every night with all his train. "There's no doubt of it," said a subordinate in the Public Works Department to his European chief, "People have come on moonlight nights and found not a horse." But it



is said that the god does not care for this place so much now, and likes better to use one of his many other stables, for here he was scandalously ill-used; he was very proud of his show of white cocks, and people used to come from far and near to bring this favorite bird; but one day, in the hurry of business, the attendant Brahman passed one a little speckled! The god never forgave it, and now most of the white cocks are dead. It is just the old story; the less one exacts from one's servants, the less they will give.

Other shrines are yet less imposing. On every high hill and under every green tree have they set up their tokens. On every peak in the Southern plains is the white-washed spire of a shrine, while trees may be consecrated without outward sign at all. Walking in an evening by the winding pond, which in the Ooty \* gardens is—by making believe very much—taken to do duty for an Italian lake, the visitor may see headless chickens fluttering under an innocent willow by a tray of grain and cocoanut and turmeric, and a pan of smouldering incense. Do you press for explanation? "*Dewul bunaya*," calmly says the sacrificer. Nay, indeed, anything new or strange serves for a divinity; the stone boundary posts of the survey will do, the broad arrow, perhaps, suggesting an inverted *nāma*; or a benighted traveller found sleeping by his horse under a palm-tree in the dawn may have received unconsciously, but none the less effectively, the adoration of some early boor. These two instances, however, are from the extreme South, where Christianity is at once extending cultivation over the *tarais*, and driving out the lowest superstition which ever made this life a hell. There the prevalent worship is more degraded than any in the North, and is either the worst form of Hinduism or a cross between that and some aboriginal terror. "Its objects, when their existence and worship are accounted for by Hindus on Hindu principles, are identified not with Kali herself, as the *Ammans*, or village goddesses, are, but with the *bhu-taganas*, the troops of demons, that follow in Kali's train." †

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\* Short for Ootacamund.

† It may be said that these people are beyond our subject, for they are not Hindus. Where shall the line be drawn to exclude them? Their country is the scene of famous Hindu legends, and contains famous temples and places of Hindu pilgrimages. In matters of religion, though Kōls and Southals be not Hindu, yet Shanars are, because "though they are 'addicted to the worship of devils, yet they also worship the great "Hindu divinities, and wear the sectarial marks, pretty much like the "rest of the people, and because their devil-worship is not opposed to

The place of worship may be marked either by a little white-washed cone of mud, or by a thatched double-chambered mud hut. On the wall opposite the outer door of such a shrine and flanking the inner, stand out full-length figures of attendants on the object of worship, as hideous as lavish paint and outstretched tongue and savage gesture and terrible attributes can make them; the *cella* can contain nothing more monstrous. Its supposed tenant, however, differs much from the rivals of Christianity twelve centuries back in our ancestral North. There they were figures of terrible grandeur, of known shape, habits and ancestry; here they are made fresh as wanted, and a new ceremonial devised for each. Thus, for a long time, an officer who died of wounds received in the assault on the Travancore lines in 1809, was worshipped with libations of raw spirit and country tobacco. Is not this a horrible story? Imagine the evil life of the wretched man.\* Imagine the nameless cruelties, the injuries to their rights and feelings, this harmless people must have suffered before it took so terrible a revenge, before it enthroned its oppressor chief among the fiends of hell! Imagine, in short, an Exeter Hall harangue on this text, for of course it would be utterly misplaced. For the poor man was an utter stranger, who died in the desert, like too many more, on his way to healthier shores. Some village poet composed a rude chant of the whole story, from the start, from Madras in a *palki* well supplied with cheroots and brandy, to the wound in the assault and the untended death. Years afterwards, the old devils being worn out and too old to be spiteful, this ballad supplied a successor, who in his turn has been forgotten. Elsewhere the wife of an American Missionary, dying of cholera far from home, received like honor, till her scandalized relations heard of it, and removed the poor woman's remains. In short, a man is as little dishonoured as honoured by such a canonization. The holiest and most loving nature may, think the Shamars, get such a twist in a sudden or painful or ill-timed death as to become as greedy of evil as in life of good. So, when an epidemic comes, or any strange misfortune befalls a community, it is at once set down to the account of the last person who

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"the worship of Siva, but has been incorporated with it, and, as a matter of fact, is practised by the people of many of the higher castes" in Tinnevely, about whose Hinduism no doubt can be entertained." (The quotations both of the text and the note are taken from a very interesting lecture delivered on 13th May, 1869, before the Native Literary Society of Madras, by Dr. Caldwell of Edeyenkudi.)

died unhappily, and the spirit is implored with wild ceremonies not to bring evil on husband or wife or child. It is hardly worth while to tell stories to illustrate so well-known a fact; yet we may venture on one, because it winds up with the devil's death. Two brothers, Tamil-speaking Englishmen, had a plantation in Ceylon, which drew most of its labor from the Shanar country. One year some misfortune chanced in the village, and the devil-dancer, when consulted, of course laid it on the ill-will and discontent of the last person who died. Equally, as a matter of course, a shrine must be built, and the dancer fee'd handsomely for ceremonies which might lay the troublesome ghost. As all these ceremonies took place at night, the next day's work was not very profitable, and the brothers presently tired of it all. Concealing themselves therefore in the shrine, armed with a dark lantern, they waited for the dancer. On his coming they flashed the light in his eyes, and he challenged pluckily. One of them answered for the ghost, that he was not content with these empty honors, but must have money, must have Rs. 100 next night. Next night the money was brought, and even again the same farce was acted, and again the money was forthcoming. So the morning after, the brothers called their people together. "For the last four nights we have been the devil, and got from you this very Rs. 200; if you like to thrash that scoundrel and knock down the temple, you may have your money, else we will do both for you and keep the money." But there was no hesitation; never did man get better trounced than the dancer, and devils never troubled that estate again. It is scarce to be believed that so much money was gathered so quickly, otherwise authorities seemed to think the story credible enough.

The architecture, however, which led us to this digression about the Shanars, though offering the most striking contrast, is yet neither the most curious nor the most important point of difference. Fancy a Brahman in the North merely the assistant of a man of another caste! But the *pandaram* of the great temples in the South is not a Brahman, yet is said to be as much honoured by the attendants of that caste as a bishop by a ritualistic curate. At Madura the dwelling of the *pandaram* is one of the chief buildings of the town, and its hall, probably a large part of the whole, is as big as the nave of a village church, and lined with colored statues more than the size of life, but perhaps of the flimsy materials used for processional images, instead of stone. Very many of these images are made for all

the feasts, but great halls in the temples are crowded with them, the more costly carefully-packed away in mats. At one place, however, a celestial chorister, in very scanty raiment, was left on duty, being hung in the portico by the small of the back, and pitching cheerily in the morning breeze. In the North such images are unknown; indeed there would neither be use for them nor storage-room.

Another curious contrast is in the object worshipped. There true idolatry seems comparatively rare; there they worship a symbol, here an image transfused with the divine essence. A man is never a hero to his body servant, and probably a chump of wood is never very divine to the Brahmans who handle it, though by it they live; but the common people see in it neither symbol nor resemblance, but the actual powerful presence of their divine patron himself. Probably it would be impossible to speak too strongly on this point. An officer told a curious story of his own experience as Magistrate. A famous image was lodged for the night, as usual in its accustomed perambulations, in an open portico with merely hanging screens, and in the open around, thousands of its votaries were lying; he was going round, of course, to see all well, when he remembered he had never seen this image, and so bade the Brahmans lift the veil and show it; as the veil was lifted, a sound behind him made him turn, and there was all the lately sleeping host erect with joined hands, looking up with glistening eyes to the object of his curiosity and their devotion. Of course, the religion of like classes in the North may not be a whit more refined, though paid to a symbol only instead of an image; but it is certainly a trifle harder to conceive that a dumpy pillar is or embodies God Almighty, than that the rudest block does so which makes the faintest pretension to hands and eyes and head and feet.

Another more curious difference is in the persons worshipped. In the North-West Provinces Siva takes all worship but the little spared to Vishnu, under his forms of Krishna and Rama, and his spouse in corresponding forms; here each figures under names and in forms unknown in the North, and attended by satellites as new. Even the image of Ganesa is not common in the North. That the name of Subrahmanyam is unknown may not be strange, if we are right in thinking that he was honoured with the repute of divine parentage by reason of his bloody massacres of the Buddhists,\* and was then made one

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\* It has been suggested that when Saivite persecution extirpated Buddhism, many made the shortest journey they could, and halted as

with Siva's son Kartikeya, who also is only known as giving name to a month.

Here, as elsewhere, Brahma enjoys the neglect of a personage helpless for good or ill, while all temples are dedicated to Siva and Vishnu with their spouses, under some of their many new names. Of these two, the former owns the most ancient and famous temples, the latter the more numerous worshippers; but he offers more temptations to sensual men, for certain sects of Vaishnavas are, both by rule and practice, the lowliest lives on earth. His wealth, too, is probably greater. At one place we hear that the fetters wherewith they bind the god, when, to stir sluggish devotion, they give out that he is imprisoned for debt, are of massy silver instead of coarser metal; and his shrines are assuredly guarded with more jealous care; for European eye has never seen the towers or gilded pinnacles of his shrine on the depressed top of the sacred Triputty, nor have we any idea with what satellites he shares his temple: his spouse, of course, is there, but Siva also has his son Subrahmanyan and the obese Ganesa. Saving this last pair, none of the gods named are strikingly monstrous; they may have two or more spare arms, but they are only stuck on; no muscle is provided, and no place of attachment; and the addition neither is, nor looks a whit more unnatural than the wings which European taste demands as part of the get-up of an angel. These extra hands are always filled with emblems and weapons, the attributes of the god concerned; of the natural pair, the right hand is uplifted in blessing, the left turned down with the back outwards as beckoning. But the six heads of Subrahmanyan are not so easily condoned, and, whether in painting or bas-relief, of course all are always shown, spreading like a clumsy umbrella above the well-proportioned body of the god; while the three-eyed elephant head and bloated trunk of Ganesa do not suggest humanity at all. There are too many stories to account for this elephant head for us to single out the true one, but a quite new version from the South is well worth the telling. It contains some scandal about Queen Elizabeth. Ganesa is generally held to have been produced by the sole volition of Siva's spouse, Parvati, a lady of hitherto spotless reputation, who, in any other of her many forms, would terrify and overmatch all the world, gods, men, and fiends. "Shaitan was

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Vaishnavas. The triad at Jagannath, the figure with armless uplifted hands which is worshipped at Seringham and elsewhere, is by these traced back to certain mysterious emblems largely used by Indian Buddhists.

“an unsuccessful suitor to Ganesa’s maiden mamma, of whose  
 “too great partiality to Vishnu a child was the consequence,  
 “of course to Shaitan’s great wrath. After much importunity  
 “he consented to visit the lying-in mother, but his glance burnt  
 “off the child’s head. The mother’s rage and despair so moved  
 “even him, that rushing out he cut off the head of the first  
 “creature he saw, and stuck it on the child’s body which there-  
 “after grew and grew to suit the head of the elephant so  
 “unluckily met.” The inventor of this story must have been a  
 bigoted Vaishnava, and his ingenuity is past all praise; he has  
 most cleverly blended, almost past recognition, two contra-  
 dictory legends, and in the way which may most disgrace and  
 annoy his own patron’s rival; for he calls Siva the devil  
 in plain words, paints him a sulky weak-minded savage, and  
 makes his stainless bride a light o’ love, the willing prize of his  
 detested rival. What could malice do more?

It is hardly fair, however, to treat poor Ganésa as peerless  
 in his grotesqueness; against the monstrous union of the  
 human and the animal let us set the foul appetite and form  
 of Kali, or the amusements and attitudes of other divinities.  
 Take, for instance, the form of Siva, worshipped with his  
 spouse at Chilumbrum, one of the noblest temples of the South,  
 founded, probably, as early as the fifth century of our era.  
 Here is the soul-instructing myth. Once on a time, and  
 perhaps (as in other instances) to please the saints and doities  
 assembled for a big dinner, Siva hero danced in rivalry of  
 his wife Parvati, and being imprudently victor had to appease  
 the fair by a promise that no demon should trouble that her  
 favoured dwelling; perhaps he was sober enough to remember  
 that under any other name the lady is fiend enough for a  
 county. Afterwards the Chola King was suffered to behold  
 them dancing on the shore of the then near-neighbouring sea,  
 in gratitude for which amazing condescension he built a  
 temple to enshrine the image of the romping god. The  
 glorious being should be attired in short *caleçons* of tiger skin,  
 and, standing on the tip of his right great toe, should turn the  
 other leg straight up in front of his body, as though trying to  
 kick the back of his own head. We do not pretend to say the  
 number of arms the character properly demands; but this  
 matters the less, that the lissomest of human beings could not  
 compass the proper pose even for a moment. Be it observed,  
 however, that our description is drawn from other authorities,  
 from a painting of his worthy spouse at Trichinopoly, and a

life-sized statue of himself at Madura, for though, more fortunate than the Hand-book writer, we were admitted into the adytum, and had the help of an opera glass for a good stare at the idol from a distance of five or six yards, no details could be made out ; it is about the size of a respectable doll, and is muffled in rich clothes and strings of mixed jewels, conspicuous over which shows a large gold medal hanging from its neck. This of course is such attire as he wears on week-days ; the raiment and ornaments of state worn on feast days, are stored in the treasury under many locks and keys, safe from sacrilegious eye. As no European has ever seen his jewels, we can tell nothing about them, save that there are two theories—one that the jewels are really of great value ; the other, that the Brahmans are very careful to conceal nothing, the treasury never having recovered from the repeated plunderings of Hyder. But if the tehsildar, who acted cicerone, may be trusted, there must be some good *loot* stored up again. At the great annual feast is used a portable throne of gold, which cost Rs. 30,000 to 40,000 but a year or two back, and the jewels offered on the last occasion were priced at Rs. 10,000.

The authorities, however, are less jealous elsewhere, and then the temple jewels are among the great sights of the place. We will, in illustration, briefly detail those shown in two great temples—one possessing the most precious treasures, the other the most interesting. First, then, for the jewels of Seringham. It has commonly been said that this temple is dedicated to Vishnu on Sesh Nag, *i.e.*, to Vishnu sleeping on the snake amid the formless void, before he had willed even the being of Brahma. The treasures, however, show that both the images here enshrined are erect, with uplifted hands. One is of stone, ten feet high, projecting from the wall of the shrine ; the other, the God proper, is moveable, and must measure something less than thirty inches. It will be remembered that a French adventurer is said to have stolen one eye of this idol, and that it now figures in the Russian sceptre as the famous Orloff diamond. The story had always seemed marvellous, and we found the Collector shared our incredulity. Even if military reasons had compelled the occupation of the inmost enclosure, this would but redouble the jealous care of the priests over their most sacred deposit and their most costly possession. It would have been impossible wholly to conceal the loss for a day ; it must have become known to the world at large at the next feast. Had their cir-

cumstances been such as to render possible the loss of this jewel, they could not have been strong enough to protect the vast wealth heaped in their treasury by the devotion of centuries. This was more accessible, and must have been better known ; yet it survived all the chances of war, and the several occupations of the pagoda. Further, there was no place for such a stone to fill. Vishnu is not three-eyed as Siva is ; in India perhaps less than elsewhere is it likely that the place of one eye should be filled with that priceless jewel, leaving the other by comparison a mere socket. Again, from the size of the image the face can hardly be more than two and a half inches broad and four long, while Mr. King's drawing makes the Orloff diamond more than one and a quarter inch in diameter, and nine-tenths of an inch deep ; so large a jewel would look like a short stout horn covering half the face. Still it is a pity to question the story. Never before or since was there so magnificent a bit of loot, £300,000 in a waistcoat pocket.

However small be the interest of the buildings, the sight of the jewels would repay a more laborious journey, and much trouble in pre-arrangements. The latter the Collector saved us, but of course such treasures are not kept lying about, ready for the inspection of any chance visitant. Divers officials have to be collected who may open the treasury. When the boxes are removed thence, others have still to be summoned, who hold the keys of the double locks, and a third set, perhaps, keep the seal wherewith the bags containing the locks or covering the less wieldy articles are closed. Yet, with all these checks, people are heard to whisper that speculation goes on ; that year by year the offerings do not equal the thievings ; that now the treasury contains less than when the Collector made it over in 1843. And some, strangely enough, are said to suspect that this is the last and sharpest move of Government for the overthrow of the ancient faith, and that we carefully counted on the downfall of Hinduism through the vices of its ministers. However, Government is now well and finally rid of the whole concern ; the Collector is no longer, as he was five-and-twenty years ago, trustee and manager, and indeed steward of the idol ; and the sole influence he has with the Committee is that which necessarily pertains to the most important officer in the district, the head of the administration, the representative of, and channel of communication with, the local Government.

But whatever may have been the plundering, some very nice pickings are left for those who come after. Nothing meaner



than gold did the boxes give forth ; and it is hard to say how long we should have spent looking at plain gold vessels of all sizes and uses but that we cried out for something better. These of course were only for use on high days, and curiously mark at least one main feature of the ritual. The climate suggests perpetual bathing as the greatest of earthly luxuries, and so all over India legends tell of great blessings the gods have given those who have bathed their images, and contrivances abound whereby water shall always be dropping on the chosen symbol, or whereby it may fall in the most refreshing way. Here over the idol's head is held a golden cullender fed from the hollow handles of two golden vessels, each ornamented by work raised with the hammer, and very like the brief-boxes of a country church. These in their turn are supplied with milk from a golden basin, one-eighth of an inch thick, or with water from golden *lotahs* ; the water is stored hard by in a huge chalice, three feet high, and the very vessel which brings it from the river is of gold, of some five gallons content. Above the shrine is fixed the Vaishnava sect-mark, the *namah*, in its modern form a blunt trident. This is of gold, three-eighths of an inch thick, six inches in length, and as much in breadth at top, and perhaps four inches below : the middle prong is faced with rubies, the rest with diamonds.

Worthy of this are the personal jewels. How the god may be attired on week-days, we know not ; for high days he has literally a case of thick gold plate, encrusted with jewels before and behind, which covers him from shoulders to feet ; each of the upper pieces is more than a span long, and weighs some pounds, and each of the lower measures a good foot. The back-turned hands have also their thick cases uplifting the two emblems of the god faced with diamonds ; even the toe-nails are of diamonds. Then he has several caps, one probably for his spouse, though the only special acknowledgment of her existence is the head ornament, with flat pig-tail, half a yard long, of gold suitably jewelled ; three of them are simple cones, covering the skull well behind, and having side pieces to rest on the cheek bones. These seem comparatively modern, for they are adorned with branch work of large well-cut diamonds. A fourth, the latest acquisition of the temple, is the most curious of all ; the cone curves gently backward, and near the top is joined on a turban nine inches in diameter, whose surface is completely covered with rubies and diamonds set in alternate whorls. The contrast of the black face with all this gold and

jewels must be simply ghastly, whether seen under the glare of lamps in the shrine, or as he makes his rounds under the noonday sun.

The trappings of his processions, too, are curious, and proportionately costly. The umbrella, about eighteen inches in diameter, is of black velvet embroidered within and without with small pearls; its pole is of gold, as are those of the two banners or sunshades carried on either side of the god, one bearing his flaming quoit, the other his conch. Then there is his horse, a rocking horse overlaid with gold, the god standing in a well in its back; and lastly his sedan chair or *howdah*, a square box without canopy, with poles which seem to witness that the weight they bear is great, and all of course overlaid with gold. Last of all come the ornaments of the great stone-image, hands and feet of gold, a cap eighteen inches high of gold plate repoussée, another cap of crimson silk wadded, embroidered in places with floss silk, but thickly wrought with pearls: and a garment to match, eight feet long, the front only of a gown, but all he wants, as his back is built into the wall. "There are a lakh and a half of pearls on it," whispered our guide, "and each is worth two or three rupees." We will neither vouch for nor question his figures.

What may be the worth of all these things, it is very hard to say; we did not see all; we have not mentioned all we saw, nor can we price these; indeed such pricing as ours would be worthless. None of the pearls were nearly as small as seed pearls, yet none were large, and the largest were mis-shapen, and of indifferent colour. Few of the stones had been spoilt by drilling, and many were cut in facets; only the diamonds of the caps were cut in our fashion, and most of the others were those irregular thin ones so common in India, which one takes on trust. According to our guide (the Collector's Sherishtadar), the pearls on the coat are worth £30,000 or £40,000; he told us the original cost of many things: This cost Rs. 13,000, that so much, and so on, but now "all are worth very much more;" indeed the very gold pots and pans we so much despised would be no mean prize. One fact, however, is certain. The Mahratta inventory of the things made over to the trustees in 1843, is in three books amounting altogether to some five quires of paper the size of bank post.

The jewels at Madura may be less valuable than those of Seringham, but are far more curious, probably far more ancient, and, to our thinking, worthier objects of desire. Were the Slave

of the Lamp to make us master of both, the treasures of Seringham would find their way into the market at once, but more than one bit of the Maduran would be carefully stored up. When the temple was occupied by European troops during the troubles of the last century, a false end was built up before the shrine and a counterpart of the god erected in front of it, the jewels being hidden in the true shrine with the god, and no one would wonder if the same stones were still stacked close at hand ready to be used in the same way again. Apparently there is at least one large fixed image of Menakshi,\* but the only immovable object of worship in Chocalingam's shrine is his emblem, for which there is a curious cylindrical cover about two feet high, with an oblong hole in front to show the sect mark; it is of gold adorned with one or two short bands of large shallow stones of no note, and has certain holes wherefrom other jewels may be hung. Also of gold is the "Panch Naga," the snake whose folds form a sort of ornamental base, while its five overspread heads canopy the lingam. The image of the god must be sitting on its left foot; his coat, for he has but one, is of silk thickly embroidered with pearls, and is about fifteen inches long: the gold crowns are suited to a figure with a trunk of this length. The head-dresses of the goddess are of silk, nearly covered with small pearls, the largest of all black with the smoke of camphor, her favorite perfume, and adorned with the sun and moon emblems about the temples. The silk of course has some framework to keep it out to shape, for on the left side in all is a huge bunch, which shows that Tamil women of the present day dress their hair after a divine pattern, who assuredly patronized chignons. Other head pieces were conical, and had stones and pearls, mis-shapen, but of good lustre, as large as beans; others were more distinctively for the god; a riding turban of thick gold covered with pearls and rubies in rows, and of the 'gundi' pattern, coming low over the eye but globular above, pulled tight by a bandeau which passes across the top of the forehead and round the base of the skull. This seems modern; two others are very ancient. One is to be worn on the day he sells firewood, after one of the legends, and is like a tier of flat round pads, of course of gold, with a row of precious stones

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\* The temple of Madura is dedicated to Parvati under the name of Menakshi, while Siva figures as Chocalingam, and has of course long obscured his spouse, who is still in theory the chief object of worship. The legends are too childish for record. An abstract translation in manuscript fills a quire of foolscap.

above each ; the other is for the wedding-day, and has a tall cap of scarlet velvet surrounded by a broad circlet of jewels, wherefrom rise two arches, also jewelled, the front one single, the side one double, and divided by a row of open flowers in dead gold ; the knop at the top seems to be an emerald, but it is not large, and has been drilled. Other ornaments were to be held in the hand ; sundry parrots, one perched on a flawed mis-shapen pearl, the size of a walnut ; a lotus flower, a disc of thick gold crowded with flat diamonds and rubies ; then there were waist belts, and necklets, and chains, and pendants many ; one chain of Venetian sequins, or, as they are called here, Shanar cash ; one pendant, like the jewel of an European order as large as a man's hand, one side coated with jewels, the other chased to the outline of a footless double-headed eagle displayed ; another was the noblest of all, a beetle formed of ten superb sapphires set of course in gold, the largest stone as large as the first joint of a man's thumb, a good inch and a quarter long, and half an inch broad. According to our cicerone, the treasures are worth two lakhs, and we doubt if he was overvaluing them ; there are a large number of rubies of very various size and quality, and of course still greater abundance of pearls ; there are no large diamonds, though any quantity of those shallow queer-shaped bits of which no one can tell anything. There are also some sapphires besides the superb ones spoken of above. None of the stones had been cut, and very few pierced.

It remains but to speak of the riding trappings, the god's golden foot, and jewelled anklets, his reins—thick cords, twenty inches long and two inches thick, covered with strings of pearls, and a spare pair covered with pink coral. Then the *vakuns* had to be visited, stabled in a pitch-dark chamber in the court ; an elephant, a Nandi, and sundry horses (the size of life) very disproportioned to their rider, all made of wood overlaid with gilt plates of silver, though others of larger size in the same place were only coated with silver leaf.

But what neat catalogue or jeweller's estimate can give an idea of the terrible glory of these jewels in a Hindu's eyes when they are decking the person of his god, either enthroned in state or borne in high procession ? It would be hard faintly to sketch or calmly to behold his midday perambulations, when, on the favored days, he goes round to inspect, with a master's eye, his dwellings, and gardens, and the streets of his town. Through crowds, swollen by thousands of pilgrims, the long procession forces its way ; dancing girls weaving their wild

dance, musicians braying forth barbarous music, grotesque figures borne aloft, framed of wood and paper of paint and tinsel, nay, even of gold and jewels, representing sun and moon, and dependent deities, and behind—surrounded with banners and emblems—the golden throne and the squat doll-figure, literally hid in jewels, which to the lookers-on is not symbol or emblem, but God the Most High Himself. But all this can be as nothing to the scene on the last night of the feast, when the god, surrounded with all that the temple has of pomp, sits on the dais, while with the sound of dance and mad music and hymn blend the hiss and roar of fire-works, and the shouts of votaries struggling from the crowded court ablaze with torches, to the glare and wilder crowd of the sanctuary there, to drench the god with the libation of milk and honey and cocoanut, which shall make him propitious for another year. And then when the whole platform is foul with trampled flowers and liquids which the choked drains cannot carry off, when the air is thick with smoke and dust, when votaries and ministers are utterly weary if not sated, when the propitious moment is past, the procession forms once more, and, with due pomp and din, gods and men march off together to see the divinity stowed away in his cupboard till the feast comes round again.

- ART. IV.—1.—*The History of India from the earliest ages.* By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. II. The Rámáyana and the Bráhmánic period. London: N. Trübner & Co.
- 2.—*Indische Alterthumskunde.* By Professor Christian Lassen. Vol. I. 1866.
- 3.—*Rámáyana Carmen Epicum de Ramæ rebus gestis Poetæ antiquissimi Valmíkis Opus.* Edidit Augustus Gulielmus A. Schlegel. Bonn. 1829. Vols. I and II.
- 4.—*Rámáyana Poema Indiano di Valmiki.* Per Gaspare Gorresio. Paris, 1843. Vols. I, VI, VII, VIII, IX.
- 5.—*Indische Skizzen.* Von Albrecht Weber. Berlin, 1857.
- 6.—*Elphinstone's History of India, with notes and additions.* \*By E. B. Cowell, M.A. 1866.\*
- 7.—*Original Sanscrit Texts.* By J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. London, 1868.
- 8.—*Institutes of Hindu Law.* Translated by Sir W. Jones. Calcutta, 1794.

AFTER the great success of Mr. Talboys Wheeler's first volume, we are not surprised that he should have brought out a second as soon as possible. In his analysis and bold criticism of the Mahábhárata, Mr. Wheeler was, in England at any rate, first in the field. Readers who never studied a Sanscrit book, and who have not yet summoned up courage to face those ponderous tomes in which German erudition is slowly opening up the as yet unexplored wilds of Indian history and mythology, can appreciate Mr. Wheeler's lively style, and enjoy his brilliant analysis of one of the most interesting poems in the world. And to this task he brought a mind trained in Grecian and Roman history, familiar with Oriental modes of thought, and the practical acumen of the Government official, whose life is spent in close contact with the minds of the people whose ancient history forms the subject of his investigations.\* To these causes it is due that a man who is himself no Sanscrit scholar should, by a judicious use of a translation which he found ready to his hand, have elicited the applause of Orientalists, and wrung from German savans, whose life is passed in the study of early Indian history, the tribute of sincere admiration.\*

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\* As from Professor Goldstucker in the *Westminster Review*.

In the volume now before us, Mr. Wheeler continues his task of elucidating early Indian history by an analysis of the *Rámáyana* and the Laws of Manu. Some scholars consider the *Rámáyana* as later than the *Mahábhárata* ;\* others as older.† Such is the uncertainty which reigns in these matters. Mr. Wheeler evidently considers the *Rámáyana* in its present shape the later of the two. This question we hope to discuss presently. But before we give an account of Mr. Wheeler's labours, we must quote his statement of the sources from which he has borrowed in his analysis and criticism of the *Rámáyana*.

"There are three *Rámáyanas*, the work respectively of " *Válmiki*, *Tulsee Das*, and *Vyása*. The *Rámáyana* of *Válmiki*, " as translated by Messrs. Carey and Marshman from the com- " mencement of the poem to the abduction of *Sítá* by *Rávana*,‡ " has been adopted, with some revisions and modifications as the " basis of the greater part of the present condensed version. The " remainder is given in brief outline from the Bengali version. " Moreover, a few extracts have been introduced in the text from " what is understood to be the north-western version, which " furnish *particulars not to be found in the poem of Válmiki* " respecting the early life, education, and marriage of *Ráma*, and " serve to illustrate the more modern ideas upon these sub- " jects, which are current amongst the Hindus. Again, through- " out the present version considerable extracts have been added " in the form of foot-notes from the work which is popularly " ascribed to *Vyása*, and which is known as the *Adhyátma* " *Rámáyana*."|| Now we may observe that, as far as we can learn, the Hindi version of *Tulsí Dás* and the Bengali version are by no means translations of the original *Rámáyana*, but leave out many circumstances in the original work, and introduce many not contained in it. Mr. Wheeler seems to consider the *Rámáyana* of *Tulsí Dás* as representing, exactly the Northern recension, as he speaks confidently in his notes of the differences between that and the Bengali recension. According to *Gorresio* and *Schlegel*, there are two recensions of the Sanscrit *Rámáyana*—the Northern, or that of the commentators, and the Bengali or

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\* Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 38.

† As, for instance, *Gorresio*, in his Introduction to his edition of the *Rámáyana*, p. 104. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 584.

‡ This takes place in the *Aranyakánda*, or Third Book, chapter 55.

|| Mr. Wheeler's Introduction, p. 84.

Gaurīya recension.\* The edition of Messrs. Carey and Marshman is an attempt to combine these two. Schlegel says that the work "has been done without any critical discrimination, is full of defects, and bad in every respect." In this judgment Gorresio most heartily concurs.† Under these circumstances, we cannot help regretting that Mr. Talboys Wheeler should have based his work principally on this edition as far as it goes, and should then have followed what are mere modern *rifacimentos*, instead of making use of the admirable translation of the Bengali recension by Gorresio, which would have carried him at any rate as far as the Yuddha Kānda, the last book but one of the poem. There is also a translation of the Bengali recension by M. Hippolyte Fauché. If however Mr. Wheeler had any prejudice in favor of the Northern recension, or, as he calls it, the *North-Western recension*, he might have made use of the Latin translation by Schlegel of the First Book and a part of the Second.

The Adhyātma Rāmāyana is written in Sanscrit. It forms part of the Brahmānda Purāna, and has obtained a wider currency than the bulk of that Purāna, simply because it treats of a subject of much interest and importance to the popular theology of India. It is, in fact, an attempt to incorporate the doctrines of the Vedantic philosophy with the story of Rāma. The author evidently availed himself of the great popularity of Rāma's story to spread his own favorite tenets by putting them into the mouth of that venerated demi-god, whom he represents as the Supreme Being Himself. In other respects it is tolerably faithful to Vālmīki. Tulsī Dās is considered to follow the Adhyātma Rāmāyana rather than Vālmīki's work.‡

It is evident that in Mr. Wheeler's work we must not expect philological accuracy, and indeed he himself tells us so. Having thus prepared our readers, we proceed to give a brief account of the poem as analysed by Mr. Wheeler, and to quote some of the most noteworthy criticisms and striking theories propounded in this volume.

\* The "Raghuvansa" of Kalidasa would have been a most useful summary to follow, as he flourished B. C. 56, according to Hindu tradition.

† Introduction to Sanscrit Rāmāyana, p. 19. Schlegel's Rāmāyana, Vol. I, Præfatio, p. 22.

‡ The author of this article is indebted for his information about the Adhyātma Rāmāyana to Babu Krishna Kamala Bhattāchārya, Professor of Sanscrit in the Presidency College.



On the banks of the Sarayu, the modern Gogra, extended a wide and rich country, named Kosala. In it was situated the city of Ayodhyá, the ideal Bráhmaṇ State according to Mr. Wheeler. His description of the city is an admirable instance of the skilful way in which he condenses the long descriptions of the ancient poem, and yet manages to preserve the *naïveté* and archaic simplicity which distinguish it.

"The city of Ayodhyá was full of people, and every one was healthy and happy, and every one was well fed upon the best of rice; and every merchant in that city had store-houses filled up with jewels from every quarter of the earth. The Bráhmaṇs constantly kept alive the sacrificial fire, and were deeply read in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and were endowed with every excellent quality; they were profusely generous, and were filled with truth, zeal, and compassion, equal to the great sages, and their minds and passions were under perfect control. All these Bráhmaṇ sages had three classes of disciples; first, the youths, who served them as servants serve their masters; then the students, who were receiving instruction; and then the Brahmacáris, who maintained themselves and their preceptors by collecting alms. Next to the Bráhmaṇs were the Kshatriyas, who were all warriors, and were constantly exercised in the practice of arms in the presence of the Maharájá. After these were the Vaisyas, or merchants, who sold goods of every description, and who came from every corner of the earth. Last of all were the Súdras, who were ever engaged in devotion to the gods, and in the service of the Bráhmaṇs. Besides these there were jewellers and artificers, singing-men and dancing-women, charioteers and footmen, potters and smiths, painters and oilmen, sellers of flowers and sellers of betel-nut.

"In all that city of well-fed and happy people, no man was without learning, or practised a calling that did not belong to his family or caste, or dwelt in a mean habitation, or was without kinsmen. There were no misers, nor liars, nor thieves, nor tale-bearers, nor swindlers, nor boasters; none that were arrogant, malevolent, mean, or lived at another's expense; and no man who had not abundance of children, or who lived less than a thousand years. The men fixed their affection upon their wives only; the women were chaste, and obedient to their husbands; and all were patient and faithful in the discharge of their several duties. No one was without a marriage crown, or earrings, or a necklace, or jewels for the hands. No one was poor, or wore tarnished ornaments, and no one was

“ without fine raiment and perfumes, or was unclean, or fed on  
 “ unclean things, or neglected the sacrifice, or gave less than a  
 “ thousand rupees to the Bráhmans. All the women in Ayodhyá  
 “ were extremely beautiful, and endowed with wit, sweetness,  
 “ prudence, industry, and every good quality ; and their orna-  
 “ ments were always bright and shining, and their apparel was  
 “ always clean, and without a stain. In all Ayodhyá there was  
 “ not a man or woman who was unfortunate, or foolish, or wretched,  
 “ or uneasy, or diseased, or afflicted with fear, or disloyal to the  
 “ Maharájá. All were devoted to truth, practised hospitality,  
 “ and paid due honor to their superiors, their ancestors, and the  
 “ gods. All the four castes—the Bráhmans, the Kshatriyas, the  
 “ Vaisyas, and the Súdras, were devoted to the Maharájá. No caste  
 “ intermarried with any other caste, and there were no Chandálas  
 “ in all the city, either by birth or as a punishment for crime.”

In this city reigned the mighty Dasaratha, descended from the illustrious family of Ikshváku. This great king had no son. In order to obtain this blessing, so dear to the heart of every Hindu, he commenced a horse sacrifice, over which presided the sage Rishyasringa, son of Vibhándaka. At the end of the sacrifice his four queens became pregnant with four portions of Vishnu, which were afterwards born as Ráma, Bharata, Lakshmana, and Satrugna. It has been observed by Schlegel that all the passages in the Rámáyana which represent Ráma as an incarnation of Vishnu might be taken out of the poem without impairing its continuity.\* This episode of the *avatára* of Vishnu is evidently a case in point, and it may be instanced according to Mr. Wheeler's theory as a Bráhmanization of the tale of the Kshatriya rhapsodist by a priestly *diaskeuastes*. The reason of the incarnation is thus given :—

“ A terrible Rákshasa named Rávana devotes many years to  
 “ the performance of religious austerities ; and by the power of  
 “ those austerities he secures the favor of Brahmá, who there-  
 “ upon, at his request, renders him invulnerable to gods and  
 “ demons. Rávana now considers himself to be immortal ; the gods  
 “ and the demons are unable to harm him ; and men and beasts  
 “ are so much beneath his notice, that he has not stooped to pray  
 “ for immunity from their attacks. Accordingly, he oppresses  
 “ the gods ; not indeed the great Bráhmanical gods, Brahma,  
 “ Vishnu, and Siva, but the ancient gods of the Rig-veda, whom

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\* Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. V, p. 587.

"he compels to do as he pleases. Death is not allowed to afflict his subjects the Rákshasas; the burning Sun is required to shine mildly over his city; the Moon is obliged to be always at the full throughout his Ráj; the Seasons come and go at his command; Fire burns not in his presence; and the Wind is forced to blow gently. Accordingly the gods complained to Brahmá, who acknowledges the superiority of Vishnu by conducting them into the presence of that deity; and since Rávana has not been rendered invulnerable to men and animals, Vishnu resolves to become incarnate as the four sons of Dasaratha, and especially as Ráma; and the gods descend on earth and beget monkeys and bears, in order that their progeny may be ultimately formed into an army, and effect the destruction of Rávana under the leadership of Ráma."

When Ráma reaches his sixteenth year, he is initiated into warlike exploits by the sage Visvámitra, who is represented in Hindu story as having been a Kshatriya by birth, but having become a Bráhman by the force of austerities, in order to revenge himself on Vasishtha.\* Under his auspices Ráma slays several Rákshasas, and at length receives from the sage mysterious arms endowed with the power of speech. Throughout this episode the hand of the Bráhman revisers may be distinctly traced.

Ráma is then taken by Visvámitra to Mithilá, the realm of king Janaka, where is deposited a wonderful bow. Whoever can bend it, is to obtain the hand of the king's beautiful daughter Sítá. Ráma bends the bow, and swift messengers announce the fact to king Dasaratha, who comes to celebrate the marriage of his son. At the same time that Ráma is married to Sítá, Lakshmana is married to another daughter of the king, and Bharata and Satrugbna are married to two of his nieces. In describing the marriage ceremonies, the author takes occasion to remark on the ancient ceremony as performed by our Aryan forefathers, and the modern ceremony as performed in Christian churches.

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\* He was the author of the Vedic hymn which contains the *Gáyatri*. His persecution of the virtuous King Harischandra, evidently invented by the Bráhmans for the purpose of maligning the Kshatriyas, is found in the Markandeya Purána. Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 379. This story, which Dr. Muir calls the most affecting in Hindu legend, may be also read in the "Chanda Kausikam," and in the "Martyr of Truth," a Tamil drama translated by Mútú Kúmára Swámí.

"In Protestant countries the fire on the altar has been rejected as Jewish, and the use of holy water has, in like manner, been abandoned as Romish. But still in all essential particulars the ceremony is the same. The bridegroom and bride are still placed before the altar; and the father of the bride still gives away his daughter; while the bridegroom takes her hand in his, and pledges his troth in the presence of the altar, though the fire is wanting."\*

Then takes place the meeting of Ráma Jámadagnya and Ráma, the son of Dasaratha, in which the Kshatriya hero triumphs over the Bráhmán, who is also an incarnation of Vishnu. This Ráma, who is also called Parasu Ráma or Ráma of the axe, is said to have extirpated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times, and to have filled seven lakes with their blood. Most Sanscrit scholars are inclined to see in this a proof of the fact that the Bráhmans and Kshatriyas were not so harmonious in the social world, as they are represented to have been in the laws of Manu.† But Mr. Wheeler is of opinion that Parasu Ráma was really the hero of some obscure village feud about a cow. He observes:—"The conflict between the soldier and the priest, the Kshatriya and the Brahman, belongs to the age of Buddhism." This theory must stand or fall with that of the late date of the Rámáyana, which we shall consider presently. We next find Ráma about to be appointed Yuvarája, that is to say, as heir-apparent he was to be formally installed in the regal dignity in the life-time of his father, and admitted to a share in the administration. Mr. Wheeler lays particular stress upon the popular movement in favour of Ráma's installation: "Here a democratic element in the ancient Hindu despotism is discernible." ‡ The happiness of the people is, however,

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\* This comparison might have been carried further. In Grecian marriages an important rite was the bathing of both the bride and bridegroom in water fetched from some particular fountain. In the Roman marriage the husband received the wife with fire and water which she had to touch. The *far* and *mola salsa* might be compared with the *lája* of the Hindu marriage. Raghuvansa, Canto 7, Stanza 25. The word *pánigraha-nam* also is sufficiently significative.

† See Dr. Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. I, chapter IV. Lassen considers this account of the meeting of the two Rámas an interpolation. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. I, p. 587.

‡ We find a similar instance in the Vishnu Purána. Krishna is to a certain extent controlled by the Yádavas who seem to stand to him in the same relation that the *agora* did to a Grecian king in the heroic ages. "Lovers of the good old cause" will be glad to hear that there

put an end to by a Zenana intrigue. Manthará, a deformed old maid, a sort of female Thersites, instigates the mother of Bharata to remind the Maharájá of a promise long ago made to her that her son should inherit the crown. The result is that the king determines to install Bharata as Yuvarája, and to send Ráma as a devotee into the forest. This Mr. Wheeler considers an instance of Brahmanization of the old tradition, but all the kings of his race became devotees in their old age.\* He describes the whole scene very powerfully, and indeed any one who has read his first volume will be prepared for a most skilful rendering of the story. We select one of the most striking passages in which the poet describes the grief of Kausalyá, the mother of Ráma.

"When the Rání heard these terrible words, she fell down to the earth like the bough of a saul-tree lopped by the axe of the forester, or like a god who had fallen from heaven; and Ráma raised her up, and gently stroked her with his hands. At length, in an agony of grief, she spoke as follows:—O my son! O Ráma! If you had never been born, I should have been saved this bitter sorrow: A barren woman has only the grief of being childless, and knows not what it is to lose a son, O Ráma! I am the chief Rání; yet whilst you are here, I have been supplanted, and now what shall I have to suffer when you are gone? My death must be the consequence: Disliked and neglected by my husband, I am already contemned by the servants of Kaikeyí, and now those who serve me will see the son of Kaikeyí installed in the Ráj, and will not vouchsafe me a word: O my son! how shall I, thus deeply afflicted, be able to behold the face of the wrathful Kaikeyí? Seventeen years, O Ráma, have I passed since your birth, hoping that my sorrows would one day end: O Ráma! I am worn with age, and I cannot sustain the loss of you, nor the persecution of my rivals: You, too, doomed to hunger and fatigue, are now sunk in misery with wretched me: Surely my heart is as hard as a rock, since it has not burst ere now like the banks of a river in the rainy season: There must be no room in the mansions of Yama, or death would have seized upon me this day, like a lion springing upon a trembling doe: What is life to me? The sacrifice performed for obtaining a son has been to me like seed

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were republics in ancient India. The most famous is that of Vaisáli. (Cowell's *Elphinstone*, p. 262, *note*.)

\* *Baghuvansa*. Canto 1. line 8.

"sown upon a barren land : If you go into the wilderness, I will follow you like a feeble cow following her calf : But, O Ráma, it is not pleasing to me that you should forego the Ráj and go into the jungle : The Mahárájá is subject to the words of a woman, and has become the slave of Kaikeyí. You, O Ráma, have committed no fault that you should be driven into exile ; and what son, who remembers the duties of a ruler, would regard a sovereign who has sunk into his second childhood ? O Ráma, before this matter is noised abroad, do you assume the management of affairs ! who will oppose you ? if, urged by Kaikeyí, your father should appear hostile, do you slay him without remorse : enslaved by Kaikeyí he has sunk into childhood, and rendered his old age contemptible "in the eyes of men."

Ráma then, followed by Sítá and Lakshmana, proceeds to the peak of Chitrakúta, where he lives as a devotee. After the banishment of Ráma, the interest of the Rámáyana flags for the European reader. The aged Mahárájá dies of grief, and Bharata is sent for from his grandfather's house to assume the ráj.

On his return he is by no means thankful to his mother for procuring him the royal dignity, and announces his intention of giving it up to Ráma, the lawful heir. His brother Satrugna seizes Manthará, and drags her along the ground. For this he is rebuked by Bharata. But Mr. Wheeler does not consider the admonition sufficiently severe.\* There is a little too much of this high morality in this volume. Further on in the narrative, Mr. Wheeler comments with the most laudable severity upon the indelicacy of Súrpanaklá,† the sister of Rávana, who tries to persuade Ráma to elope with her. We never heard Agamemnon properly reprehended for abducting Briseis from Achilles, and so bringing about an "Iliad of Woes," but no doubt his conduct was extremely questionable. The Grecian hero, however, disarmed criticism by ascribing the misfortune to the malign influence of Atê, who "walks upon the heads of men." We have no doubt the Kshatriya hero, if he had been confronted with his nineteenth century critic, would have been able to shuffle off his guilt upon the shoulders of *bhavitavyatá* or *hatavidhi*, or some other convenient abstraction. Whether he would have been

\* Page 170.

† Etymologically, the lady with nails as large as winnowing baskets.

understood is another question. Mr. Wheeler does not require to be told

—die Zeiten der Vergangenheit  
Sind uns ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln ;  
Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heisst,  
Das ist im Grund der Herren eigner Geist  
In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln.

Akin to this failing is a determination to consider the Hindu of the days of Valmiki and the Hindu of the days of Martin Tupper as one and the same individual. A famous Frenchman is said to have given it as his deliberate judgment that the Greeks are still the same *canaille* that they were in the days of Themistocles. The Englishman more pompously speaks of the stereotyped character of everything Oriental. This, when translated into the language of common sense, means that we know very little about the social customs of the Orientals now, and we know rather less about their social customs and modes of thought three thousand years ago. This tendency in Mr. Wheeler is aggravated by his fondness for making use of modernised versions of the Sanscrit original.\* An author who knows how Hypatia dealt with Homer, and Dr. Cumming deals with Isaiah, might have been expected to be more careful.

Bharata, after he had paid the last rites to the dead body of the Mahārājā, goes with his army to seek Rāma. He offers to surrender the kingdom to him. The prince refuses to return, but gives his brother his shoes, which thenceforth are fanned with the *chāmaras*, and protected from the heat of the sun by the royal umbrella. †

\* The account of the honeymoon of Rāma, which Mr. Wheeler (p. 65) says is found in the *North-Western recension of the Rāmāyana*, is not to be found in Gorresio's edition of the Gaurya recension, nor in Schlegel's edition of the Northern recension of Valmiki's poem. We suspect that Mr. Wheeler has drawn it from the Bengali or the Hindi translation. The same holds good of the description of Rāma's "*infantia lingue*" and youthful sports. (p. 31.)

† In the remarks which (p. 215) Rāma is represented as making to Bharata about Jāvali, there occur the words "Buddhists" and "Atheists" (*Nāstikas*, which Mr. Wheeler writes *Hastikas*). It is worthy of remark that these expressions are only found in the Northern recension. They are even excluded by Schlegel in his edition of the Northern recension as spurious. Gorresio, *Introduzione*, pp. 2 and 93. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 519.

According to the tradition, Rāma spent more than thirteen years of his exile in wandering among the different "Brahmanical settlements" situated between the Ganges and Godāvari. He is called upon by the sages to protect them against the Rākshasas, and slays a great many of these terrific beings, which ultimately leads to his war with Rāvana. Mr. Wheeler devotes a much larger space to the two first books—the A'dikānda and the Ayodhyākanda—than he does to the other four. This is no doubt because he considers the description of Dasāratha's court and kingdom as in the main historical, and as serving, when taken together with the precepts of Manu, to furnish us with a correct idea of a representative Hindu State. The wanderings of Rāma in the wilderness, and his encounters with the Rākshasas, are on his supposition to be referred to the struggles between the Linga-worshipping Brāhmans and the Buddhists.\* Those who adopt the usual opinion that the Rākshasas were a wild aboriginal tribe, and that the wars of Rāma represent a great advance of the Aryan invaders, will be of opinion that a considerable historical residuum is contained in this account of Rāma's wanderings. It in fact represents the slow progress of the Aryan tribes, who fought their way much like the first settlers in the backwoods of America, and were the pioneers of civilisation, though their path was written in letters of blood and fire. We find these settlements of hermits† in a much more advanced stage in the Mahābhārata.‡ They are found in that poem in the neighbourhood of protecting kings, inhabited by large numbers of *tāpasas* who devote themselves to their prescribed religious duties without let or hindrance. Far other is the case in the Rāmāyana. In that poem the hermits or *rishis*, who were, as Mr. Wheeler has ably shown, not necessarily Brāhmans, are represented as living in the wild woods surrounded by fierce, aboriginal tribes, sometimes singly, more often in small settlements (*āsrama mandala*).

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\* The account of the setting up of the Linga in the island of Rāmeswara, of which Mr. Wheeler makes so much, is not to be found in Gervasio's translation at all, and is therefore probably no part of Valmiki's poem.

† Not only Brāhmans. In *Rāmāyana*, Book III, Chapter 6, *Aranya-kanda*, we find the following expression:—"This great body consisting principally of Brāhmans, was slain by the Rākshasas." (Quoted from Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 696)

‡ We adopt the usual theory that the Rāmāyana is a later poem than the Mahābhārata. We shall consider the evidence presently.



Agastya is found living alone, but only at the distance of a yojana from his brother while his brother's dwelling is four yoganās distant from that of Sútikshna. Agastya, who is represented as the great civilizer of the Southern tribes, was the leader of those missionaries of civilisation.\* Like the Apostle of Noricum, he gained the respect of the wild tribes by his power of working miracles.† He no doubt was glad enough to invoke the assistance of Ráma's bow, when his own spiritual weapons were found wanting. But, as Mr. Wheeler says, it is not necessary to consider Agastya a Brahman any more than Visvámitra. They were probably sturdy representatives of the Church Militant. On this supposition, then, Ráma and Sítá and Lakshmana will represent an Aryan *ver sacrum* sent southward to wrest new lands from the aborigines. The monkey king who assisted Ráma will be the chief of an aboriginal tribe who sided with the Aryan invaders.‡ It is to be observed that Ráma's conquest of Ceylon is nowhere represented in the Rámáyana as permanent; he establishes a brother of the slain Rávana as king. It is, however, probable that the kingdom of Southern Kosala may have been founded by him, and represents a permanent Aryan conquest, as his son Kusa founded the town of Kusasthali, and returned thence to Ayodhyá.§

The most important episode in the Aranyakánda is the description of the deed which drew down on Ráma the anger of Rávana—the mutilation of Súrpanakhá. This Rákshasí comes to Ráma and asks him to marry her. Ráma excuses himself on the ground that he already has a wife, and recommends her to take Lakshmana, who also prays to be excused. The Rákshasí then assumes her real form, and makes towards Sítá with the intention of devouring her. "Ráma repelled her and said to Lakshmana:—O Lakshmana, "it is not always proper to jest with those who are cruel and "base: See Sítá is scarcely alive! O excellent one, disfigure "this ugly Rákshasí. The valiant Lakshmana then became

\* Cowell's Elphinstone, p. 237, Editor's Note.

† He made the Vindhya bow till he returned, and it has remained ever since in that depressed state, as he never came back. He drank up the sea *quod tamen mingendo restituit*.

‡ It is interesting to observe that Rama is represented as very beautiful. See the description of his head in the *Juddha Kānda*, Chap. 7. The Rakshasas are, on the contrary, represented as very ugly. The name Hanumat, the *large-jawed*, is also, no doubt, indicative of a monkeyish cast of countenance.

§ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, p. 703:

"exceedingly angry, and he seized his scimitar, and in the sight of Ráma he cut off the ears and nose of Súrpanakhá." She flies to her brother Khara, who, with an enormous army, attacks Ráma, and is signally defeated. Súrpanakhá then applies to Rávana to avenge her wrongs, and in order to make him more zealous in her cause, draws a glowing description of the beauty of Sítá. Rávana applies to Marícha, and desires him to take the form of a golden deer in order to decoy Ráma away from the hermitage. Marícha warns Rávana that he will only involve himself and his friends in misery if he enrages Ráma, and reminds him that he himself had met Ráma in battle when he was protecting the hermitage of Visvámitra, and had been carried away into the sea by an arrow shot by the youthful hero. The plot is, however, carried out. Marícha assumes the form of a deer; "his horns were tipped with sapphire, his face was variegated with black and white, his mouth resembled the red lotus, and his azure eyes were like blue water lilies." Sítá immediately conceives an uncontrollable desire to repose upon the skin of this deer.\* Though warned by Lakshmana of the power of Marícha, Ráma determines to slay the deer, and goes forth, leaving Sítá under the care of Lakshmana. When pierced by the dart of Ráma, Marícha assumes his proper form, and cries out with a loud voice, "O Sítá! O Lakshmana, save me." When Sítá heard this, she forced Lakshmana against his better judgment to go to the assistance of his brother. In the meanwhile Rávana arrived in the dress of a devotee. After trying for some time to persuade Sítá to leave her husband, he seized her, and flew through the air with her. He was, however, attacked by an ally of Ráma, Jatáyus the chief of the vultures. But after he had conquered this bird, he carried off Sítá to Lanká. On her way she succeeded in throwing down some of her ornaments among the monkeys. Strange to say, in the next book (the Kishkindyakánda) Ráma appears in an altogether different light. He becomes a man instead of a victorious demi-god. He seeks an alliance with the monkeys. He becomes an ally of Sugríva, who had been deprived of his kingdom and his wife by his elder brother Báli. Nay more, in direct disobedience to the Hindu law, he slays Báli with an arrow while engaged in combat with Sugríva. Mr. Wheeler remarks with his usual

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\* Ascetics were directed by the law of Manu to clothe themselves in bark, or the skin of the black buck.

sagacity :— “ Ráma seems to have tacitly sanctioned the transfer of Tárá, the wife of Báli, to Sugriva, which was directly opposed to modern rule, though in conformity with the rude customs of a barbarous age: and it is remarkable that to this day the marriage of both widows and divorced women is practised by the Marawars, or aborigines of the Southern Carnatic, contrary to the deep-rooted prejudice which exists against such unions among the Hindus at large.”

We have no doubt that Mr. Wheeler is perfectly right in saying that Ráma must have been worsted by the Rákshasas, and forced to seek the aid of some powerful aboriginal prince. The next book (the Sundarakánda) contains an account of the exploits of Hanumán, who is sent to Lanká in an ambiguous kind of capacity, partly as a spy, and partly as an envoy. In his capacity as spy he enters Lanká in the form of a cat, overhears Rávana's conversation with Sítá, gives her the ring of Ráma, and destroys a grove of mangoe trees, slays Aksha, the son of Rávana, and is eventually captured by Indrajit, another son of Rávana, the conqueror of the Vedic god Indra. Rávana was desirous of having Hanumán immediately decapitated. But Vibhíshana, the brother of Rávana, objects that an envoy may not, according to the law, be slain, though he may be disfigured or beaten with leather straps, or may be treated as the king of Ammon, treated the messengers of King David.

Rávana accordingly commands that Hanumán's tail, as being the chief ornament of a monkey, should be dipped in *ghát*, and set on fire. Hanumán then revenged himself by setting, with his tail, the whole city of Lanká in a blaze, and, after taking leave of Sítá, he returned to Ráma. Mr. Wheeler observes that Ráma, before invading Lanká, made an alliance with Vibhíshana, the brother of Rávana. This arrangement, he says, was of a peculiarly “human character.” Such little points as these, which Mr. Wheeler never lets escape him, are what really justify him and his school in supposing that these epics, full as they are of speaking weapons, conversable monkeys, and magic medicines, do nevertheless contain a genuine historical element. We cannot help remarking by the way that all these stories, racy as they appear in Mr. Wheeler's account, are, in the translation of Gorresio, inexpressibly tedious. They would probably have been considered light reading in the time of Hilpa and Shalum, but we think that most “degenerate men of modern days” will prefer Mr. Wheeler's terse and epigrammatic version.

Mr. Wheeler observes that there is a mass of supernatural detail in the account of the war. In this respect it far transcends all Grecian legend. Rāma and Lakshmana are involved by the wily Indrajit in a noose\* made of snakes, and the gods have to remind Rāma that he is an *avatāra* of Vishnu, in order that he may invoke the aid of his bird Garuda, who soon drives off the entangling reptiles. Rāma then cuts in two the umbrella of Rāvana, and with ten arrows carries away his ten crowns. Next follows the amusing episode of Kumbhakarna, humorously described by Mr. Wheeler.

"Rāvana then entered his Council-hall, and sat upon the throne, and he was much discomforted; and he thought upon the power of Rāma, and sighed heavily. He then sent for his Counsellors, and desired them to guard the city with the utmost vigilance, and he gave order that his brother Kumbhakarna should be awakened from his deep sleep, saying:—My brother Kumbhakarna is very brave and powerful, and I have no doubt but that the moment he wakes he will relieve us from the terror of Rāma: By the blessing of Brahṇā he sleeps for six months, and then wakes up for one day, and for that day he is invincible. Awake him, therefore, without delay: Fear him not, show him no mercy, but beat him, if it be necessary, only to wake him up; for of what use can he be if he does not arise, and save us from destruction!

"At this command, the Rākshasas prepared enormous quantities of flesh meat, together with garlands of flowers, incense and other perfumes, and carried them to the apartment where Kumbhakarna lay sleeping. And they kindled a fire, and threw incense thereon, and began to dance and sing round his bed, but still he slumbered on. Then they began to shake the gigantic Rākshasa with all their might; and some sounded the shell of triumph in his ears, whilst others beat him with all sorts of weapons, but still they could not awaken him.

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\* Hindu weapons, as described in epic poems, are a very obscure subject. There is an interesting essay on "Hindu Arms" in the second volume of the late Professor H. H. Wilson's collected works, edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost. The bow (*bhanus* connected with the Greek *thunatos*) appears to have been the principal. Prof. Wilson thinks that the early Hindus may have been acquainted with the use of gunpowder. "The *agni-āstra*, or firearm, is, it is true, generally wielded by some supernatural hero or demi-god, who exercises a miraculous command over fire, but the notion might have originated in some mere mortal device for the production of fire and smoke." The *Sataghni* is generally supposed to mean the rocket, an Indian invention.

" They then brought in a thousand elephants, and permitted them to walk over his body, but still he continued sleeping. At last they brought in a number of beautiful women, and directed them to sing and dance round his bed, and to caress him with their arms; and when he felt their gentle touch, and smelt the sweet fragrance of their lips, he began to quiver, and presently he opened his eyes, and rose up with a loud roaring.

" Then Kumbhakarna, with eyes red with rage, demanded the reason of his being awakened, and the Rákshasas replied with joined hands:— O Yuvarájá, you spend so much of your time in sleep, that you know nothing of the dangers which environ your elder brother: Arise now and satisfy your hunger. So saying, the Rakshasas spread the provisions before Kumbhakarna, and he began to make a prodigious meal. First he took an immense quantity of rice and vegetables, then in four mouthfuls he devoured a great many roasted hogs and deer, and then he ate two thousand human beings, and drank a thousand pots of wine. When he had finished, the Rákshasas informed him that the city of Lanká was threatened by two human beings and an army of Monkeys; and he cried out:— Let me go and devour them. Then he proceeded to the Council-hall, and his stature was loftier than the walls of Lanká; and when the monkeys saw him in the distance they were sore afraid. And Rávana told his brother Kumbhakarna all that had taken place; and Kumbhakarna rebuked him for having excited the enmity of Ráma. Nevertheless Kumbhakarna mounted his chariot, and went out against the Monkey army, and put them to rout; and he crushed Sugriva with a large stone, and carried him away in triumph to the city of Lanká. Then Kumbhakarna again took the field, and Ráma went out to meet him; and after much fighting, Ráma severed the head of Kumbhakarna from his body, and the whole army of Monkeys rent the air with mighty shouts of Victory to Ráma!"

Next Indrajit tries his luck, and succeeds in cutting to pieces the whole army of monkeys. Hanumán is, however, sent off to the Himálaya to fetch a medicinal herb, the smell of which restores them to life. Rávana upon this shuts himself up in his town, but Ráma directs the monkeys to fire the city. Next Lakshmana kills Indrajit with a consecrated arrow. Rávana in revenge pins Lakshmana to the ground with a mace. Again, Hanumán fetches a medicinal plant from the Himálaya with the most beneficial results. Rávana is at length slain,

but not without the employment of supernatural means. One cannot help sympathising with the brave Rákshasa, who is, like Hector, undone by the enmity of the gods, and, suspecting that if he had only had *œqui dei*, he would have had the best of it. As it is, the story has no interest at all for the European. Far otherwise is the effect, according to Mr. Wheeler, upon a Hindu audience, who delight in the whole story of the war, and above all in the awakening, after his six months' slumber, of the gluttonous giant Kumbhakarna.\* The last book of the poem, the Uttarakánda, is supposed by some to be a later addition.† The poem is complete without it. But it certainly contains a story which is not creditable to Ráma as a man, much less as a god, and which one might charitably hope was written before the passages which proclaim his divinity were incorporated with the poem. Although Sítá had endured the ordeal of fire immediately after the taking of Lanká, Ráma becomes dissatisfied with her, and banishes her. In her banishment she gives birth to twins—Kusa and Lava—who are recognized by Ráma. According to one story, Sítá is reconciled to Ráma, and they live together happily for the rest of their lives. According to another, given in the Adhyátma Rámáyana, she is swallowed up by the earth. Mr. Wheeler remarks that as Ráma also banished Lakshmana, it is probable that as he advanced in years he became jealous and peevish like Henry the Eighth. We think that every one will agree with him that the poem ought to have ended with the triumphant return of Ráma to Ayodhyá. The comments which he makes upon that part of the poem will show how completely our author appreciates the poetry of Indian life.

"The foregoing narrative of the triumphant return of Ráma and Sítá to the city of Ayodhyá, and the installation of Ráma in the Raj, is received by a Hindu audience with an enthusiasm which is rarely exhibited in colder climes. To apprehend it aright, the European should picture to himself a Hindu village far away from the noise and bustle of city life, where a Bráhman takes his seat every evening beneath a tree to read or

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\* Mr. Wheeler considers this story as meant to ridicule the Buddhist *Nirvána*. This is at any rate ingenious.

† It is not comprised in the abstract of the Rámáyana found in the Mahábhárata. It is wanting in one manuscript. Besides, as Mr. Wheeler says, it is absurd to make Válmíki a contemporary of Ráma. But, as Signor Gorresio observes, epic poetry delights in the marvellous. Professor Lassen considers the Seventh Book a later addition.

" chaunt to the villagers a portion of the divine poem, until in  
 " process of time the whole has been gone through. He should  
 " watch, day by day, the countenances of young and old, and  
 " especially those of the women, and observe the deep and  
 " lively interest which is taken by all present in every turn of  
 " the story, from the opening description of a glorious ideal of a  
 " Hindu city, and the promise of four sons to Dasaratha at the  
 " Aswamedha sacrifice, down to the exulting climax when  
 " Ravana is slain by Rama amidst the rejoicings of the  
 " gods. He should see with his own eyes how the birth and  
 " boyhood of Rama, the marriage, the exile, the abduction of  
 " Sita, the lamentations of Rama, and the invasion of Lanka  
 " have each in turn roused the sympathies of the audience,  
 " and excited the smiles and tears,—hot indignation, dreamy  
 " wonder, and a deep mysterious awe. Indeed, so great is the  
 " enthusiasm that the whole of the villagers will identify them-  
 " selves with every scene in the story; and when the evening  
 " approaches on which the triumphant return of Rama and  
 " Sita to the city of Ayodhya is to be chaunted by the Brahman,  
 " every preparation is made to enable the audience to imagine  
 " themselves actors or spectators on that exultant occasion.  
 " The neighbouring huts and trees are decorated with garlands of  
 " flowers and leaves, and all present are arrayed in clean garments  
 " and bridal ornaments, and in this manner the simple-minded  
 " people fondly make believe to take a part in the public  
 " rejoicings which accompanied Rama's entry into the city of his  
 " fathers."

Those who have read this and the previous volume of Mr. Wheeler's work will see clearly that both the great epic poems have suffered many alterations. They were originally no doubt, like the poems of Homer, recited by rhapsodists\* at the feasts of kings, or in the lonely settlements in the woods. The ancient Hindus seem to have been pre-eminently a race of story-tellers. We have the names of the principal rhapsodists preserved. The Ramayana was composed by Valmiki, and recited by Kusa† and Lava. The Mahabharata was composed by Vyasa, and recited by Vaisampayana, his pupil, and also by Ugrasavas. It

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\* *Sanskrit Suta.*

† Kusilava is found in Hindu plays in the sense of an actor. It previously meant a bard. The names of Rama's sons are, no doubt, derived from the appellative. (*Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 580.) An absurd derivation is given for the names of these sons, quite worthy of a place in Plato's *Cratylus*.

is obvious that if by any critical process we could recover the kernel of the poems untouched by the Bráhmaṇ *diaskuastes*, we should have a very clear idea of the mode of thought of the conquering Aryan community. For we may be quite certain that no rhapsodist would find his account in rehearsing what did not meet with a ready response in the hearts of his audience. But the Brahman *diaskuastai* were not content with modernising the poems; they inserted the new doctrine of the three gods, and of the four castes, and they sublimated away the old Kshatriya tradition by diminishing the importance of the warlike element, and enveloping the combats when they could not be got rid of in a veil of supernaturalism. It is obvious that the Rámáyana would resist this process much more easily than the Mahábhárata. The story of the banishment of Ráma, and the raid made upon Lanká, must have formed part of the original poem, otherwise it is hard to see how there can have been any poem at all. The Mahábhárata is, on the other hand, a collection of numerous legends, a kind of poetico-historical encyclopædia.

We are, accordingly, compelled to differ from Mr. Wheeler as to the comparative ages of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata. Mr. Wheeler maintains that the Mahábhárata is in the main older than the Rámáyana.\* We abide by the received opinion among the Hindus, that the Rámáyana is the older of the two. Moreover, we follow Professor Lassen's opinion that both the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana had been reduced pretty much to their present form before the reign of Asoka. Mr. Wheeler is not the only celebrated scholar who has considered the Mahábhárata as older than the Rámáyana. Professor Weber holds the same opinion.† This he grounds upon the "obviously allegorical character" of the Rámáyana, and the unity of its plan.‡ In this matter we must rest satisfied with the very faintest probabilities, and they seem to be in favour of the opinion which is universally received among the Hindus. The Rámáyana relates the history of an occurrence which is supposed by the Hindus to have taken place before the war of the Pándavas and Kauravas. Its sphere is

\* See *Historical Resumé*, p. 643.

† *Indische Skizzen*, p. 38. He considers it as describing the spread of the worship of Vishnu, the god of agriculture, towards the South.

‡ It has been shown that the Yavaas, mentioned in the Rámáyana, were not necessarily Greeks, but the word was used vaguely to express the people of the West. Schegel's *Voluminis Primi Pars altera*, p. 168. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 1034.



confined to a narrower geographical region. The South of India is, according to the *Rāmáyana*, a wild jungle inhabited by monkeys and *Rákshasas*, through which the Aryan settlers are gradually advancing. The *Mahábhárata*, on the other hand, embraces the whole of India : in the great war we find the *Pándyan* king of Southern *Mathurá* mentioned. In the *Rāmáyana* we find no account of the practice of widow burning ; in the *Mahábhárata* \* *Mádri* is burnt with king *Pándu*. There is no mention of *Krishna* in the *Rāmáyana*, while there is enough and to spare in the *Mahábhárata*. There is a *resumé* in the *Mahábhárata* of the story of the *Rāmáyana*, but in the *Rāmáyana* no allusion is made to any older poem. Nay, more, the invention of the epic *sloka* is described in the commencement of the *Rāmáyana*. This would seem to show that other poems, written in that metre, such as the *Mahábhárata* and the *Laws of Manu*, must be posterior in date to the *Rāmáyana*. Ceylon is always called in the *Rāmáyana* by its most ancient name that of *Lanká*. † There is no trace in the *Rāmáyana* of *Bhakti*, which is found in the *Mahábhárata* ; all austerities in the *Rāmáyana* seem to rest upon the feeling that expiatory suffering is the only means of restoring fallen human nature. Such are the principal arguments in favor of the earlier date of the *Rāmáyana*, and we do not pretend to say that they are strong, but those who attack the opinion which has the sanction of traditional Hindu belief should at least answer these arguments, or bring forward others which will justify them in setting aside as cavalierly as they do the notions of the *pandits*.

Professor Lassen places the composition of the *Mahábhárata* in its present form (with the exception of a few orthodox interpolations) before the time of *Asoka*. The first mention of the poem is in the *Grihya Sūtra* of *Aśwaláyana*, who lived about 350 B. C. *Megasthenes* mentions an Indian *Iliad*, which is supposed to be the *Mahábhárata*. "It is impossible to believe that "if the poem had been very much altered since the time of " *Asoka*, who raised Buddhism to the position of an established " religion, we should not have found very pointed allusions to the " *Buddhists* throughout it." Professor Lassen divides the poem into two parts—a part in which there is some reference to the *Buddhists*, which he considers as a later interpolation, and a part

\* Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 592.

† Neither *Támrparni* (the Greek *Taprobane*) nor *Sinhala* (Ceylon) are found in the *Rāmáyana*. *Gorresio*, Vol. I., p. 113.

in which there is no reference to Buddhism at all. This part he refers to a period anterior to Asoka. He also conceives himself to possess another test by which he is able to separate those parts which are later interpolations from the older poem. Megasthenes gives some hints which lead us to believe that in the time of Chandragupta the Indian people were separated into the two sects of Siva worshippers and Vishnu worshippers. Now he finds that in those parts of the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana which he considers to be anterior to the time of Asoka, although there is an evident partiality for Vishnuism, Siva is mentioned as the third important god, but in those parts which are later interpolations Vishnu is elevated far above all the others. Lassen accordingly comes to the conclusion that the passages in which Krishna is represented as the Supreme Being were composed when the great strides that Buddhism had made compelled the Brahmans to set up against it the worship of a popular hero. \* At the same time, according to that critic, namely, at the time of Asoka or shortly after, the Rámáyana assumed the form in which we at present possess it; but he considers the Rámáyana to be, on the whole, the older poem of the two.

The facts of language point in the same direction. It is proved by the rock-inscriptions that in Asoka's time Sanscrit had ceased to be the language of India, and had become confined to a very small class. There is no allusion in any of the epic poems to any difficulty of comprehending the story found by any of the hearers, or to any variation of dialect among the Aryan people. But the epic poems must have been the treasure of the whole people; it is absurd to suppose that they were addressed to a literary *coterie*. In the dramas the case is different; they were acted in the courts of kings before a critical and accomplished audience; and it is observable that even in these all the ladies and other inferior characters speak Prákrit, a corruption of Sanscrit. Though the epic style is preserved in the Puránas, it is not hard to show that the style of the Puránas stands to that of the two great epics in much the same relation as the style of Callimachus to that of Homer.

If these arguments of Professor Lassen's are of any weight, it is evident that the principal part of the Rámáyana existed before the time of Asoka. Those parts in which Ráma is

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\* This is also the opinion of Burnouf, (*Lassen, Indische Alterthums-kunde*, p. 591.)

represented as Vishnu, which "might be taken away without impairing the continuity of the narrative," may be of later date, but probably not much subsequent to the time of that prince.\* Professor Lassen is of opinion that the original story of the Rámáyana ended with the restoration of Ráma to the kingdom of his fathers. The poem on this supposition has a perfect epical unity. It is evident, then, that Mr. Wheeler's theory of the kingdom of Rávana having been a kingdom of Buddhists, conquered by Linga worshippers, must be given up on chronological grounds.† Anyhow we should have felt great difficulty in believing that the ferocious Rákshasas, whose delight was to eat human flesh and drink blood out of skulls, could, even under the influence of the *odium theologicum*, have been made to represent the Quakers of India.

Mr. Wheeler's analysis of the laws of Manu is, of course, much more complete than that of Elphinstone. But this old code is well known to the European reader, and the principal objects of interest in the latter part of the volume are the historical theories which the author builds upon scattered notices in the work of the Hindu lawgiver. He has, by a careful consideration of Manu's geography, come to the conclusion that the system of caste originated in Brahmávarṭa‡ the country to the west of the Saraswatí, and Brahmanism origi-

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\* There is an abstract of the whole in the Raghuvansa of Kálidása, who flourished at the court of king Vikramáditya, 56 B.C.

† Of course the late Sir G. C. Lewis would have denied that any history or chronology of India before the Muhammadan invasion exists. But if probabilities are not to be admitted, the title of Mr. Wheeler's book must be changed.

‡ Mr. Wheeler is obliged to assume that Manu is mistaken in supposing that Brahmávarṭa means the country between the Saraswati and the Drishadwatí, and that it really embraced a great part of the Panjáb. He is also obliged to assume that the name of Brahmávarṭa, which Manu applies to the Vedic settlement on the Saraswatí, is a mythical appellation of very recent date. These two *tours de force* materially diminish the value of his theory. One is forcibly reminded, when reading the works of Mr. Wheeler and other eminent writers on early Indian history, of the late Sir G. C. Lewis's humorous description of the Egyptologists:—

"Egyptology has a historical method of its own. It recognises none of the ordinary rules of evidence; the extent of its demands upon our credulity is almost unbounded. Even the writers on early Italian ethnology are modest and tame in their hypotheses, compared with the Egyptologists. Under their potent logic all identity disappears; every thing is subject to become anything but itself. Successive dynasties become contemporary dynasties; one king becomes another king, or several other kings, or a fraction of another king; one name becomes

nated in *Brahmarshidesa*, the country between the Saraswatí and the Yamuná.

The Saraswatí appears to be more frequently mentioned in the Rig-veda than any other river except the Indus.\* But in Manu's time the Aryans had spread throughout Hindustan, for he describes two other regions besides Brahmarshidesa, Madhyadesa or the middle region, and A'ryávarṭa or the Aryan pale. "In Manu's reference to the most ancient period, which "has been here termed the Vedic age, the area of the Aryans "is a very small tract in comparison with the area of the "Bráhmans. But it will be seen in his description of the "Bráhmanical period, in which he himself flourished, that the "Aryan pale was a far more extensive area than the Bráhman "pale. The country of the Bráhmans only extended from the "Saraswatí to the Ganges; but the country of A'ryávarṭa extended over the whole of Hindustan. In other words, the "advancing tide of Aryans had poured through Brahmarshidesa, and had doubtless carried with them much of the "Bráhmanical faith and ritual; although the orthodoxy and "morals of a gallant race of heroes who had conquered Hindustan must have appeared dubious in the eyes of a true "Bráhman. They drove war-chariots, tamed wild horses, and "were proficient in the use of the bow and battle-axe, and so "far their services were valuable as protecting the Bráhmans, "Vaisyas, and Súdras—the priests, merchants, and cultivators "against—the barbarous aborigines. But they were addicted "to wine, gambling, and flesh-meat, which were one and all an "abomination to the Bráhmans. Moreover, they seem to have "been led away by their love of beautiful women to contract "unions with the fair maidens of the newly-conquered territories, which was contrary to all Brahmanical rule. Therefore "Manu promulgated his code for their edification, and especially directed that all men should learn their duties from "those Brahman only who were born in Brahmarshidesa, or

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"another name; one number becomes another number; one place "becomes another place." *Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients, by the Right Hon'ble George Cornwall Lewis.*

Another objection to Mr. Wheeler's theory is that, according to the commentator Kullúka, the expression which Mr. Wheeler renders "comes to Brahmávarṭa" ought to be "which is somewhat inferior to Brahmávarṭa" (kinchid unah).

\* According to Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 643) the Gangá and Yamuná are only once mentioned.

"within the Brahman pale." The above is a luminous and eloquent description of the state of India when Manu's code was promulgated. We should, however, be inclined to object to the notion of the Aryans sweeping through Brahmarshidesa, and so acquiring a faint tinge of Bráhmanism. It would surely be more reasonable to suppose with the author of the "Annals of Rural Bengal" that from the Middle Land the system of Bráhmanism radiated out as from a centre, and never made any impression on the advanced posts of the Aryans in the highlands of Beerbhoom, or on those tribes of the same people that had remained on the west of the Indus.

Mr. Wheeler draws a sharp line of distinction between the Rishis who wrote the hymns of the Rig-veda in the land of the seven rivers, and the Bráhman priests. He considers the Vedic Rishis to have been "a class of minstrels, of which king David was a type, rather than a sacerdotal class." It used to be the fashion to find in the Vedas the sublime ideas of monotheism and a spiritual life beyond the grave. Professor Cowell, on the other hand, maintains that "the religion of the Vedas can in no sense be called monotheistic."

In this opinion Mr. Wheeler concurs. "The hymns in general are the expression of a child-like belief in the individual existence of superior and spiritual beings in the elements, which could work either good or evil." To these the Rishis addressed their hymns, and the character of the worshippers corresponded to the character of their deities. Their objects were of the earth, earthly; to draw down the blessings of the gods in the shape of full wine-vats or abundant harvests, and to be rewarded by their grateful fellow-countrymen with presents of kine; or to obtain the hand of some prince's daughter. But already in the most ancient times we can recognize two classes of "sacred singers,"—a more peaceful class who addressed their psalms to the Maruts, and a more warlike, who celebrated Indra, the god of battles, "who has preserved in the fray the sacrificing A'rya." Some suppose that the Bráhmans, as they arose in later times, were the spiritual progeny of these peaceful singers. Mr. Wheeler considers it as indisputable, that "they first appeared among the Aryan community as mercenary \* priests or sacrificers, who were

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\* The priest who was acquainted with the complicated ceremonial of early Hindu sacrifices was called *brahman*. He was able to guard against all mistakes committed by the *hotri*, *adhvaryu*, and *udgátri*. The Bráhmans were the descendants of these *brahman* priests. They

"prepared to officiate at the great festivals, or sacrificial sessions for the sake of hire." They were evidently the objects of ridicule to some of the more warlike Rishis, but both the epic poems and the code of Manu, as we at present possess them, date from a period when their influence was unbounded. It will be seen that our author applies the theory of *Bráhma-nization*, with some slight modification, to the code of Manu. It is "the expression of an important compromise in the history of the Hindus,—a compromise between the worship of the Vedic deities and the worship of the god Brahmá, between whom an opposition, amounting almost to an antagonism, seems at one time to have prevailed." But the Brahmans seem to have given up very little in this compromise. All that they did was to embody in their institutes some ancient social customs, and some ancient religious ceremonies, and to strengthen their own position by giving the sanction of Bráhmanism to what the majority of the people would never have consented to give up. "The Bráhmans rarely attempted to ignore or denounce the traditions of any new people with whom they came in contact; but rather they converted such materials into vehicles for the promulgation of their peculiar tenets." With this simple clue Mr. Wheeler winds his way very dexterously through the labyrinths of Manu's code, and succeeds in educing order out of chaos. Arbitrary as the hypothesis may seem at first sight, it is certainly philosophical, and in accordance with what is known to have been the policy of the Bráhmans in the Bráhmanical revival, when the object was to turn away the affections of the people from the popular religion of Buddha.\*

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rose to power by the possession of sacred knowledge derived from their fathers. They must have been formed into a regular caste in the regions bordering on the Saraswati, thence called Brahmávarṭa, where the comparison of the Bráhmanical system, and the elevation of the Bráhmans to full spiritual supremacy is to be sought, before the Indo-Aryans advanced south-eastwards into Hindustan proper. (*Dr. Haug in Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 294*).

Lassen considers the influence of the *puṛuṣita* to have been the seed from which the Bráhman supremacy was developed. (*Vol. I, p. 950*.)

\* Es war dies das erste mal in der Weltgeschichte, dass ein Geist kühn genug war, für alle menschen ein gleiches Loos, hier nun freilich das des allgemeinen Trubsals, in Anspruch zu nehmen. (*Weber, Indische Skizzen, p. 24*.)

Mr. Wheeler speaks of the religion of Buddha as an "aristocratic creed." Max Müller says—"The religion of Buddha addressed itself more especially to the lowest classes of the people, and found its strongest

The conception of a Manu or "primeval man" is in itself by no means Bráhmānical.\* It appears to have been common to most of the Aryan races. Mr. Wheeler thinks that the name of Manu was given to the Bráhmānic code in order to recommend it to the worshippers of the Vedic deities. The cosmogony found in the laws of Manu is composed of two separate and independent fragments. The one is a "Vedic † tradition of Manu as a progenitor; the other is a later and "Bráhmānic dogma of the creation of the universe by Brahmá." In the chronology of the code, there is also a trace of two separate systems,—the "mapping out of eternity by Kalpas or "days of Brahmá," and by Manvantaras or reigns of successive Manus. Moreover, the distinction between the days of the Devatás and the days of Brahmá which comprises twelve million years of the Devatás, furnishes additional proof that the worship of Brahmá overlaid the more primitive worship of the Vedic Aryans. It would seem at first sight that it was almost impossible to amalgamate the Vedic and Bráhmānic doctrines. In the Vedic age there seems to have been "no conception of "sin. The Vedic Aryans were distinguished by a love of wine "and women, of flesh-meat and high play, which was radically "opposed to the tenets of asceticism; and it was apparently "on this account that the Bráhmans found it necessary to enforce "their precepts by threats of punishment which were unknown "to the composers of the hymns of the Rig-Vedas. This "theory of future rewards and punishments lies at the root "of all Bráhmānical laws and observances, and was accepted "by the authors of the code as an established dogma, and "indeed it has prevailed among the people of India down to

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"support among those who had to suffer from the exclusiveness of the "Bráhmānic system." (*History of Sanscrit Literature*, p. 35).

Mr. Wheeler no doubt means that Buddha was led to his opinions by the "sad satiety" produced by the indulgences so characteristic of Oriental royalty.

\* The word "Manu" is identical with the Greek Minos, and the Phrygian Manis. (*Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 623.)

The passage in the Germania of Tacitus is well known. Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuisconem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. (*Germania*, cap. 2.)

† In the first part of the cosmogony the Sánkhyā system seems to be followed, in the latter the Vedānta. Lassen considers that the Vedānta is referred to in Manu, c. VI. 83, 84. In the form into which it was cast by Sankara, it must be considered as the latest of the six orthodox systems. (*Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 1000).

“ the present day. Almost every act, however, trivial, is considered as a merit or a demerit ; and the individual is rewarded or punished hereafter according to the sum of his merits or demerits. In this belief there is not the slightest vagueness or ambiguity ; for, besides the threats and promises which refer to the present life, it is associated with the doctrine of transmigration of the soul through a vast number of existences on earth, and the occasional departure of the soul to a heaven or hell for periods of different duration. It is assumed that in all cases the balance is rigidly drawn. If the merits exceed the demerits, the individual will be rewarded in proportion to the balance in his favor, either by noble birth, prosperity, comeliness, physical strength, intellectual power, long life, or abundance of sons in future transmigrations, or by elevation to a heaven where the soul would dwell in bliss until its merits were sufficiently rewarded, after which it would return to earth, and pass through another series of transmigrations. In like manner, if the demerits exceed the merits, the individual will be punished in proportion to the balance against him, either by low birth as a degraded man or inferior animal, or by adversity, deformity, physical weakness, mental incapacity, premature death, or a family of daughters, or by being cast down to one of the many hells, there to remain until the balance of demerits was wiped away, after which it would return to earth to pass through another series of existence.”

But the Bráhmánic compilers did not trust to punishments alone. As the Christian Church suffered the rites of Flora to be celebrated under another name among its converts, and substituted saints for pagan divinities as objects of adoration, so the Bráhmans suffered the Vedic deities to be invoked, “ but stripped the ceremonies of their ancient theological significance, and rendered them subordinate to the worship of Brahmá as the creator of the elements, or to the still higher and more spiritual worship of Brahma or the Supreme soul.” Mr. Wheeler proceeds to trace the same compromise in the sacramental rites, which, though evidently primeval customs, are said to be necessary in order to expiate the involuntary slaughter of small living creatures. “ Throughout the institutes of Manu the exaltation of the god Brahmá above the gods of the Vedic Aryans is never neglected ; and yet in the daily ritual the worship of the Devatás is enforced, and the daily worship of Brahmá resolves itself into the simple act of throwing rice



"into the middle of the house. From this circumstance it is "easy to infer that the worship of Brahmá was as unpopular "among the masses in the age of Manu as it is among the "Hindus in the present day; and that the compilers of the code "accordingly accommodated the national ritual to the national "taste which still hankered after the worship of the gods of "their Vedas, in preference to the new deity which had been "introduced by the Brahmans." It was on the principle of compromise that the Bráhmans allowed the Gándharvā and Rákshasa form of marriage to subsist out of deference to the wishes of the Kshatriyas, and the A'rsha, Daiva, and Prájápatya as dating back from primeval times. The process of Bráhma-  
 nization is also traced by Mr. Wheeler in the Sráddha or Feast of the Dead. This is a custom which seems to have had ramifications among all the Aryan nations, and therefore to have been too deeply seated in the heart of the people to be proscribed. But the Bráhmans introduced the convenient doctrine reiterated with wearisome persistence by Manu, that the spirits of the departed consumed the offerings by their mouths. An indirect blow was struck at the Kshatriyas by excluding gamblers from this rite. It is well known that "skilled in dice" is an epithet of King Nala. Mr. Wheeler observes that even Yudhishthira, who was an incarnation of Dharma, the god of justice, taught the art of dice-playing to the king of Virāta. On the same principle the makers of bows, and the tamers of horses, and those who taught the use of arms, are excluded. Accordingly we may conclude with Mr. Wheeler that "the "monthly Sráddha, though ostensibly celebrated in honor of "deceased ancestors, is in reality nothing more than an enter-  
 "tainment given to the Brahmans." It will be seen at once that this ingenious theory of Mr. Wheeler's reconciles a great many discrepancies and absurdities in the code of Manu. The Brahmans organised a religion in which there was little novelty to shock old prejudices, but at the same time they contrived to give all rites and ceremonies a new direction and a new significance. And they riveted the yoke of this religion more firmly on the necks of the people by a system of punishments—more effectual, according to Mr. Wheeler, than burning or dragooning—which consisted in caste-degradations. For taking advantage of the distinction which appears to have prevailed among the Vedic Aryans, of a warlike horde, and a peaceful tribe engaged in husbandry and commerce, and of the high position assumed by the dominant race towards the conquered

aborigines, they constructed a graduated society, in which they took care to occupy the first place, but which was so artfully arranged, that almost every member of it felt it for his advantage to maintain\* the framework unbroken. On this supposition of Mr. Wheeler's, all becomes harmonious. He has anatomised the structure carefully, and the result is that the political ability of these Bráhmaṇ legislators stands out in the clearest light. We need no longer wonder that Bráhmaṇism was able to resist for a long time on equal terms the rough shock of Buddhism,—a religion which can perhaps boast of more followers than any other in the world,—and at last by the bold expedient of giving a place in its pantheon to an aboriginal hero† and some malignant demons worshipped by the most degraded savages of the South, succeeded in driving the rival creed out of India.

The system of government appears in a more advanced state in the code of Manu than in the Rámáyana or Mahábhárata. In the epic poems the king appears to have only one minister, the *purohita*. There is no mention of judges. The king appointed a delegate to command his forces, but there is no regular commander-in-chief. In the code of Manu, on the contrary, the king is obliged to have a *ritvij* or sacrificing priest besides the *purohita*, a *dúta* or minister of foreign affairs, and though he himself is *ex officio* leader of the army; he is obliged to appoint a *senápati* or general, and a *baládhyaṅksha* or inspector of the forces in every district. He must go into the Hall of Justice every day accompanied by Bráhmaṇs and counsellors learned in the law, in order to decide disputes between his subjects. His time appears to have been most rigidly portioned out. Indeed his office would have been no sinecure, unless there had been a provision that if he felt disinclined to perform his judicial duties he might appoint a learned Bráhmaṇ with three assessors, and if he was tired of business he might hand over his realm to his ministers, and amuse himself with hunting or some other diversion. Students of Hindu poetry will know that this was a privilege of which the most famous kings made a liberal use. It is evident that in those states of which the code of Manu is a faithful picture, both the kings and the Warrior-caste (both Rájás and Rájanyas), were mere puppets in the hands of the Bráhmaṇs. The

\* There are expressions in Manu which seem to indicate that the Bráhmaṇs protected the Śúdras against the Vaisyas and Kshatriyas when they found it convenient.

† Weber, Indische Skizzen, p. 25.

influence which this baneful revolution was destined to exercise upon the historical development of India, cannot be better expressed than in Mr. Wheeler's own words. "The theory of "Hindu government which is set forth in the code of Manu, "presents a marked contrast to the patriarchal and feudal types, "which appear in the Vedic traditions of the Mahábhárata "and Rámáyana. The loyal attachment of kinsmen and "retainers, and their obligation to render military service to "their suzerain, which characterize the great story of the war "of Bhárata, find no expression whatever in the code of Bráhma-  
 "manical law, and no precepts are to be discovered which recog-  
 "nize in any way that patriotic interest in the welfare of the  
 "Ráj, which was respectively displayed by the general com-  
 "munity during the gambling match of Nala, and during the  
 "movement in favour of installing Ráma as Yuvarájá. To all  
 "appearance the old Roman sentiment of devotion to the common  
 "weal, which is to be found among all Aryan nations, and  
 "which certainly appertained to the old Vedic Aryans, had  
 "passed away beneath the blighting influence of Bráhma-  
 "nical oppression; and the public spirit which had animated the  
 "body politic in the Vedic age, and which is essential to the  
 "permanence of states and empires, seems to have been narrowed  
 "down to the caste, the village or the family. The result has  
 "been that for ages the people of India have had but one  
 "political tie, one nationality, and one patriotism, and that is  
 "religion, and religion alone. Foreign rule may be introduced,  
 "a Ráj may be annexed by a paramount power, and a once  
 "reigning family be condemned to obscurity or exile; but the  
 "masses have never exhibited a spark of that deep-seated  
 "loyalty, which led the old Barons of England to rally round  
 "the standard of King Charles, and which stirred up the  
 "Highland clans to fight lustily for the Chevalier, and to spurn  
 "the tempting rewards that were offered for his capture. If,  
 "however, the religion be assailed, or only threatened by the  
 "temporal power, common superstitions and common fears  
 "seem to unite the 'people into a mysterious brotherhood  
 "which will fight to the last with the high-souled daring of  
 "Crusaders, although it may be wanting in the stern discipline  
 "of Cromwell's Ironsides."

Mr. Wheeler's historical *résumé* is an attempt to gather into one focus the broken lights which his critical method has educed from the two great epic poems, the Puránas, and the code of Manu. Able as it undoubtedly is, we cannot say that it

commands our unreserved adhesion any more than other attempts to reproduce by historical divination the image of those distant times. Mr. Wheeler appears to think "that the legends of the "heroic age of Greece, have yet to be subjected to a tedious "critical process before they can be expected to yield historical "results." Mr. Wheeler might have been expected to know that the heroic age of Greece has been subjected to many critical processes, some of them quite tedious enough for any ordinary mortal. The generally received opinion among classical scholars is thus expressed by one of the greatest of modern historians: "While, therefore, we renounce the idea of *chronologising* or " *historicising* the events of Grecian legend, we may turn them to "profit as valuable memorials of that state of society, feeling, "and intelligence, which must be to us the starting-point of "the history of the people." \*

As for the division of early Indian history into three periods—Patriarchal, Heroic, and Monarchical—we confess ourselves unable to understand its propriety. Granting that a monarchical form of society is developed from a patriarchal, it is hard to see why the monarchical state should not be at the same time heroic. This was certainly the case in ancient Greece. We hold that Mr. Wheeler has taken a retrograde step in thus attempting to introduce "perspective" into such a chaos as the wild tales of the epic poems. We are quite ready to admit that the story of Ráma is legendary, but we cannot understand why it should be called monarchical any more than heroic. It seems to us to deserve both appellations.† We must also beg to protest against the divorce which Mr. Wheeler desires to bring about between historical and philological studies. Such a divorce between two lines of research, which ought to be intimately connected, would render all investigations into the history of nations, which have never possessed a "historical sense," hopeless at the outset. We must give our reasons for this at some length, as we feel that the authority of so successful a historical critic as Mr. Wheeler may procure for his opinions on this point a more favourable hearing than they deserve.

Mr. Wheeler informs us that‡ "his object is very different "from that which appears to have been contemplated by the

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\* Grote's History of Greece, Vol. II. p. 81.

† ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΣ.—τί δαὶ ὁ ἥρωες ἐστίν; ἀγνοῶ γάρ.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ.—Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τι καὶ θεοῦ σύνθετον. (Lucianus, Mortuor. Dialogi.)

‡ P. 409, Note.

"great modern schools of comparative philology, whether in Germany or elsewhere. He has not attempted to discover the origin and early history of the different Aryan peoples by the light of those special philological studies, which have hitherto so largely occupied the attention of Sanscrit scholars. He has confined himself to the humbler task of describing the people of India as they are ; and he has consequently endeavoured to unfold the history of the past, so far as it was necessary for the due appreciation of the history of the people in more recent periods." Mr. Wheeler does not appear to be aware of the distinction drawn by modern German scholars between linguistics or comparative philology and the special philology of the languages of different peoples. We are quite willing to allow that Mr. Wheeler was justified in excluding from his work the comparative philology of the Aryan nations. Though we can discover from comparative philology, with considerable certainty, the social customs and modes of life of our Aryan forefathers when they dwelt together as a pastoral people on the banks of Oxus (for with all respect to Mr. Wheeler, words are not so easily Bráhmaized as poems), it is easy to see that Mr. Wheeler was writing the history of the Indian, and not of the Aryan people, and therefore such matters did not enter into his field of view. But philology in the special sense is defined as a "historical science \* whose end is the knowledge of the intellectual condition, labours, and products of a nation, or of cognate nations, at particular periods of general chronology, with reference to the historical development of such nations." And it is philology in this sense that we must accuse Mr. Wheeler of neglecting. We do not complain that Mr. Wheeler has neglected the works of Gorresio, Lassen, Cowell, and the other scholars whom he lumps † together, so far as they *"have attained a wide-spread reputation as the pioneers in the study of a comparison of roots and grammars."* But we do complain that he has not thought the laborious work of Lassen on Indian antiquities worthy of a perusal ; that he has neglected all the philological labours which have poured so much clearer light on the Rámáyana than has yet been thrown upon the Mahábhárata. On the whole, it may be doubted whether a knowledge of the language of a people is any real impediment to the study of their history. It may be that in some cases, as

\* Heyse Sprachwissen-schaft, as quoted by Marsh in his Lecture on the English Language.

† Page 409.

Mr. Wheeler says, "a philological training tends to wean away the mind from such historical criticism as is based upon the lives of men rather than upon their languages." It may be so, but we are not aware that the histories of Grote or Curtius are inferior to that of Goldsmith, or that Mommsen has found his unparalleled knowledge of the Latin language and the dialects of ancient Italy, hang a great weight round his neck as a historian of Rome. The latter author has transgressed Mr. Wheeler's historical canons in a most flagrant manner, as he has treated with very scant courtesy the fables of early Roman history, and based his sketch of the social customs and institutions of the Regal period mainly upon philological inductions. We repeat, our quarrel with Mr. Wheeler is that he has not made use of the admirable translations of the *Rāmáyana* made by some of the much despised philologists, that he "handles as if he loved them." It seems to be the wiser course for Mr. Wheeler and ourselves and others, who fill up the room of the unlearned in Oriental languages, to make a liberal use of the very best materials supplied by those who have made Sanscrit literature their study. We are more inclined to sympathize with Mr. Wheeler in the opinion which he so modestly expresses, that the Trojan War does not represent the siege of the East by the Solar powers. He considers that comparative mythologists are following a will-of-the-wisp,—a delusion of their own imaginations. It is true that some extravagant speculations have been put forward; as indeed has been the case in the kindred subject of comparative grammar, but we do not think that Mr. Wheeler ought to include all comparative mythologists in the same category. We should plead for an exception in the case of Professor Kuhn, who, in his treatise on the myths\* relating to the origin of fire and the drink of the gods, which are common to all the Aryan peoples, seems to have touched solid ground.

Mr. Wheeler's work† "has been mainly undertaken for the purpose of illustrating the civilisation and institutions of the Indian people, with especial reference to their present condition and future prospects, and to the political relations of the British Government with the great Indian feudatories of the crown."† For this task he has shown himself to be eminently qualified. In his next volume he promises us an exhaustive account of Buddhism, and we have no doubt that he

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\* Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Götter-tranks. Von Adalbert Kuhn. Berlin, 1859.

† Page 621.

will display masterly skill in utilizing the labours of Burnouf and other scholars, and will present us with a history of a great religious movement at once popular and scientific. But his first three volumes will be but an introduction to the great work which is to follow. In the following nine we hope that the reproach attaching to Indian history generally, that it is nauseous to the European reader, will be wiped away for ever. In the Mahometan and English periods he will be able to tread with firmer steps, and will have shaken himself clear of comparative grammar and comparative mythology, and all the other hindrances that beset his path. The result will, we trust, be a work that will make India as familiar as Greece to every educated man, and will effectually bridge over the gulf that still divides the European from the Hindu mind.

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## ART. V.—THE LITERATURE AND ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM.

THE last half century, which has seen the growth of so many new cycles of ideas, will owe one of its especial distinctions among the periods to the attempts that have been made for the first time to treat scientifically the study of the unconscious products of the human intellect—language, morals, and religion. The merit of these attempts clusters round the names of no grand discoverers; the new sciences have not had their Newton or Linnæus; but their ideas were, so to speak, in the air, and have been distilled like soft rain over many minds simultaneously. As Professor Max Müller published from time to time his scattered papers, some of his views may have seemed even to thoughtful minds, in England at least, new and startling. But those who read his “Chips from a German Workshop” for the first time in the collected volumes, while interested in the details and charmed with the style, found little that was unfamiliar in the broad lines of thought which they displayed;—so much have these ideas grown upon us within the short space of a few years. Mental phenomena are at length recognised as fit subjects for scientific treatment; and we may hope that, ere long, any attempt to treat them otherwise will be dismissed as impossible. But while hindrances have been removed, the positive advance as yet made has been slight. In languages, one great class has been subjected to laws; the rest, including all the early and primeval forms of human speech, remains a chaos. The history of the formation and growth of ethical ideas is yet unattempted, and a recent work,\* which in many respects deserves popularity, bears witness to the baneful influence of metaphysical abstractions still besetting the very threshold of the subject. In the great study of the rise and growth of religions, the most intelligent observers have as yet attempted little beyond the collation and collocation of facts, and this only in a limited sphere, and with partial success.

In the brief survey which we are about to make of the literature bearing on the origin and history of Buddhism, we

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\* Lecky on European Morals.



shall find that, gauging the value of our possessions not as materials but as conclusions, we arrive at very unsatisfactory results. In the first place the facts of Buddhist history have never been carefully ascertained. To do this requires, as we shall show, a rigid canon of evidence, which most observers have dispensed with. The power of judging and the opportunity of seeing are seldom found united in an individual. But the facts, however thoroughly ascertained, do not constitute a philosophy or even a science. For the latter, we need a comparison of the series of facts which constitute the history of Buddhism with similar series of ascertained facts relating to other religions ; for the former, the groups of corresponding facts thus brought into collocation must be referred to the ultimate facts and laws of human nature on which they depend. The process is replete with opportunities for error,—errors of false observation, errors of imperfect induction, errors of lame reasoning ;—but the inversion of the process is the greatest error of all. Till the facts are settled, we want no reasoning and no induction ; and hence the vital importance of obtaining some answer to the questions—What was Buddhism ? how did it rise, and in what specially did it consist ? There is literature enough on the subject ; how does that literature serve our turn ?

First, there are the observers of Buddhism as it exists—a host of writers, many of whom have brought much culture to the task. Take the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Thanks to the labours of Phayre, Mason, Yule, Low, Bigandet and the rest, and that marvellous chaotic collection of crude facts, the “*Studien und Reisen*” of Dr. Adolf Bastian, we know every detail of Buddhism as now practised, and every story that skilled and eager collectors could glean. True, the light they throw on the problem is but scanty. Buddhism, when it arrived in the peninsula, was already aged ; it had had its experiences, and gone through its various phases ; and traditions, evidently belonging to all these phases, are confusedly jumbled together, while the whole fabric is raised upon a groundwork of primitive local tradition, which has more or less affected its subsequent development. So much has genuine history yielded to local influences that, except among a few thoughtful priests, the belief is universal, that Gaudama, the historical Buddha, actually lived, travelled, and attained Nigban (in plain English, died) within the limits of the peninsula ; Ayuthia, Kamboja, and other such local names

are confused in the national mind with their Indian prototypes, just as the fabled Meru repeats itself in Samatra, and the existing Mathura not only in the south of the Indian peninsula, but in distant Java. Names originally given from a feeling of respectful veneration attract to themselves the glory of the originals which they copy, and the true history and geography of Buddhism would be irretrievably lost if we depended for what we know on Burmese and Siamese tradition.

With Ceylon the case is different. Its greater proximity, its connection with India, the early date of the first Buddhist missions, the early and continuous literature of the Singhalese Buddhists, the absence of a local cult colouring and modifying the introduced religion—all these circumstances tended to sustain the Indian or general tradition, to keep it pure from local distortions or extraneous influences. Buddhism found there a congenial soil among colonists recently arrived and belonging to a grade of culture far superior to that of the aborigines of the island, who, by a mode of thought recurring in India from the Vedic period, were confounded with the demons known to the mythology of Northern India as Yakshas,\* and who, if represented by the modern Veddahs, were savages of the lowest and most primeval type. To Ceylon, therefore, we owe a body of tradition, early fixed by writing, and fully representing the Buddhism of Northern India up to a certain period—a period which it is the business of the historian to ascertain from such indications as are at his command. We may assume with safety that it lies between Asoka and the Christian era; for in Ceylonese literature there are few, if any, traces of the influence exercised upon continental Buddhism by the conversion of the Turanian tribes and the teachings of Nāgārjuna. It is not to be supposed that the legends of Ceylon have no local colouring; the two visits of Bhagavat to the island, with several narratives tending to the glory of local shrines and relics, are without doubt additions to the received canon; but they are easily separable from it, and we may look upon the remainder as forming the common stock of tradition in the fourth century or thereabouts after the promulgation of the

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\* The *Yaksha* (Pali *Yakko*) is to be distinguished from the *Rākshasa*; the former was, according to Köppen (i. 247), a bad but not frightful spirit, "Den schwarzen Urbewohnern zugehörig und von ihnen als Geist der Luft verehrt"; the latter a sort of giant or ogre belonging to Aryan tradition. The *Vishnu Purana* (i. 82 of Hall's edition of Wilson's translation) gives a curious derivation for the two terms.

religion. The importance of such an acquisition for the purposes of history is undeniable ; the Buddhism of the centre was undergoing a process of rapid change and development ; we should have been ignorant of the rate and course of its growth, had not it sent forth an offshoot which stereotyped for succeeding ages one of the earlier phases exhibited by the changing parent. Even the language of the sacred books of Ceylon—the Pali of Magadha—was probably the very dialect spoken by Asoka, by Ananda, and by the Master himself. If we add to these recommendations that the books are accessible and the style easy, we shall not be surprised to find that the literature of Ceylon has counted for fully what it is worth in estimating the available assets for Buddhist research. The mine has been very well worked. True, its first explorer, or *soi-disant* explorer, performed his functions in such fashion as to make the English scholar blush, for Upham's work and the patronage it received might furnish Mr. Matthew Arnold with one more illustration of what he is pleased to call the literary Philistinism of the Anglo-Saxon race ; but we have since redeemed our good name. Turnour's *Mahawanso* and his papers in the early numbers of the Bengal Society's Journal led the way ; the Wesleyan Missionary, Gogerley, published in a local periodical valuable researches, especially on the metaphysical dogmas of Buddhism, which deserve a more prominent position ; and the two works of his colleague, Spence Hardy, give a faithful picture of the religion as it exists, and a series of most useful classified extracts from the Singhalese books.

The attention that has been paid to Singhalese Buddhism has, however, naturally had the effect of placing it in undue prominence. It is interesting as photographing for us the exact condition of Indian Buddhism, before the cohesion of the Church had so far yielded as to render outlying dependencies, such as Ceylon, independent of any central controlling force. But the central force continued to exist, and led to developments in Northern India of which Ceylon never dreamed, but which, through the new impulse given by the conversion of the Northern nations, animated a vastly more extended region, and have had more influence on the history of the world, than the old-fashioned Singhalese formulæ, which have never stimulated thought, or encouraged progress. Some of the later developments of Northern Buddhism must indeed be regarded as corruptions, not to say excrescences ; the vitality which they display has assumed abnormal forms of disease ; but our interest in human affairs is

proportional rather to the amount of vitality which we find in them, than to the nobility of the results; and the changing aspects of Buddhism in the North form a livelier and more instructive picture than its stereotyped stagnation in the South.

The interesting and scholarly researches of Brian Hodgson and Csoma Körösi, which furnish a marked feature to the later volumes of the *Asiatic Researches* and the earlier ones of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, are accessible to but a limited number of students: and here we must express an earnest wish that the Asiatic Society would add to the many benefits which it has conferred on science the immense advantage of a convenient reprint, arranged according to subject-matter, of such of the papers which have enriched its annals as are of permanent interest to the learned world. The labours of naturalists are from time to time superseded by works of greater completeness and correctness; but the information collected by students such as those we have named, and others as eminent in their several branches, belongs to a field not so fortunate as to have attracted a series of original explorers, and is to this day as fresh and valuable as when it first saw the light. Mr. Hodgson, thrown without previous training, but with abundance of leisure, into the heart of a Buddhist country, amassed stores of information both from books, from antiquities, and from living guides, which are of material help to the enquirer, though perhaps the views of a local sect may have colored too deeply his whole conception of original Buddhism.\* There is nothing in all the literature of Buddhism so replete with condensed learning and rich suggestion as the papers of the earnest and adventurous Hungarian, who, from the purest love of knowledge, faced more trials and overcame more obstacles than any man of his age, and whose grave at Darjeeling, watched over by the eternal snows, sadly reminds the traveller of the premature ending of a unique and distinguished career.

The annals of the Academy of St. Petersburg contain stores of knowledge as valuable, and still less accessible, to the general reader, especially on the history of Buddhism in Mongolia and China; and the names of Pallas and Schmidt (to come down to

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\* His theory of Adi-Buddha or Buddha as the self-existing, omniscient creator and ruler of the world, finds no sanction in any portion of the literature of Buddhism; it has misled archæologists, such as Lassen, who finds the name of Adi-Buddha on Turano-Indian coins, and General Cunningham, who discovers it in symbolic flame on the Sanchi bas-reliefs. (See Lassen, ii. 489, *Bhilsa Topes*, 209.)

no more recent date), occupy a high position among those who have supplied the materials for our subject. But perhaps the most important actual contribution to history in this field is that furnished by the translators of the Chinese travels in India. Unfortunately the combination of a thorough knowledge of Chinese with a sufficient acquaintance with Indian literature and geography, is one which we can hardly expect to find ; for to be a successful sinologue exacts the sacrifice of a lifetime, and leaves no room for other studies. If, as is generally believed, the translations of Stanislas Julien are correct, and his method of rendering Chinese words into their English equivalents is to be fairly relied on, is it too much to hope that an accomplished scholar and geographer like Colonel Yule, whose promised edition of Marco Polo must be now near completion, will add to the respect already felt for his learning and industry by giving to the world a commentary on Fa-Hian and Hsuen-Thsang ? For, with all respect to the labours of Vivien de St. Martin and the erudite Lassen, it cannot be pretended that they have overcome the natural disadvantages which are prone to beset the home-staying student on a theme of this order.

None of the works which we have enumerated are strictly historical ; they are contributions to history from local or special stand-points ; they do not affect to view Buddhism as a whole, and to trace it in the course of its varying action. Such a task can, perhaps, never be completely achieved by one man : it has been twice attempted. Eugene Burnouf had the rare good fortune of falling upon virgin material. It was not a book, but a library which he for the first time explored. Of the three large collections of Sanscrit Buddhistic manuscripts, embracing all the principal treatises, which were forwarded by Mr. Hodgson from Nepal to Calcutta, Paris and London respectively, that in Paris alone has been worthily dealt with ; the other two have scarcely met with a reader. France possesses two distinct types of writers ; and the literary character of the nation is too often judged of from showy critics, who produce a multitude of smart books very easy to read, and very much read, but bristling with prejudice, based entirely on other men's labours, often erroneous, and always shallow. A well-known writer in the *Journal des Savans*, who has cumbered the Buddhistic field with his *dilettante* disquisitions, may serve as a specimen of the class. But of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire it is not necessary to speak here. Burnouf is a fair example of the other and nobler type. Original, laborious and patient, he can afford to dispense

with the fear of dulness, that *bête noire* of the ordinary *littérateur*. Dull accordingly he is to the cursory reader; but the student is charmed by his trustworthiness and thoroughness. A hater of paradox, and too prudent for theory, he has no temptation to distort or conceal his facts, while he is absolutely free from those *arrières pensées*, which have made some books on Buddhism covert attacks upon Christianity, and interspersed others with polemical treatises in favour of evangelical religion. If his style is somewhat pedestrian, his treatment of the subject is all the more trustworthy, and the *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, incomplete as it is, is a store-house of facts and solid criticism, the value of which it would be impossible to exaggerate. Unhappily, he died before his work had been much more than commenced, and his researches are in fact confined to an inquiry into the various styles of composition employed by the writers who form the Nepalese collection, with such questions of history as grew naturally from his main subject—questions highly important and interesting, but forming only a tithe of those which perplex the student. His second volume was to have contained the comparison between Northern and Southern Buddhism—a comparison which has never been effectively worked out.

The only other author who has deliberately set himself to study the history of Buddhism as a whole is the Russian Wassiljew. His work also, known to the present writer in the simultaneous German\* translation by his coadjutor Schiefner, is a *résumé* of a vast amount of original research. He devoted ten good years to the study of the Chinese texts at Peking, and approaches the subject from a different side to any of his predecessors. His style is pregnant, working by hints rather than by definite statements, and he seldom gives his authorities at length. Thus, while many of his positions are startling, the evidence by which they are established is not forthcoming; and while entitled to attention, he cannot always command confidence. Still his conclusions are obviously the result of long years of thought and study, while they form a picture so connected and intelligible that it is difficult not to believe it true. His book throws light on the darkest points, and fills up the blankest intervals; and, though rather a series of notes than a connected treatise, helps us in a remarkable degree to humanise and rationalise the history. No doubt we may note in Wassiljew the

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\* It is, we believe, translated also into French, but books of this kind do not command an English public.

tendency to idolise one's special studies, which more or less besets almost every writer. He sees too much through Chinese and Mongolian spectacles, and depreciates the work of Sanscrit scholars. The real history of Buddhism must have been essentially Indian; for in the widest departures from the early faith, in the worship, for instance, of Manjûsrî and Avalokiteswara, in all the wonderful developments of later metaphysics and mysticism, the very terminology reminds us that we are still among Indians. All personal names, all technical terms, in whatever language we find them, are adaptations or translations of Sanscrit words. Buddhism never forgot its Hindu origin, and it would seem as if in whatever country it might be most flourishing, so long as there existed an independent India, the vital energy, the creative power, was derived from Hindu sources alone. We see from Hiuen-Tsang what reverence was paid in China to the original classics; indeed, it may be safely said that there is no important Buddhistical work in any language which is not a translation from some Sanscrit or Pali original, so exclusively for a thousand years did the Hindus continue to think for all Asia.\* All this is not ignored, but hardly enough borne in mind by Wassiljew, whose tendency is to de-Indianise Buddhism, to disconnect it from its primeval home, and to lay more stress on Mongolian, Manshurian, and Chinese tradition than on the genuinely Indian records. The historian of Buddhism must be *par excellence* a Sanscrit scholar; Burnouf comes nearer to the root of the matter than Wassiljew; for, as far as our literary records extend, all the modifications of Buddhism are explicable from Cis-Himalayan sources, and the last great corruption during the literary period, the amalgamation of Saivism with Buddhism, could only have sprung up in India, though in regions of India inhabited for the most part by aboriginal races.

The historian must learn his facts to a great extent from Chinese works; for many books have come to us in Chinese of which the originals have never been discovered; and therefore good translations are specially valuable, and failing them, such abstracts and sketches of the contents of books as Wassiljew has furnished for us in the work we have noticed. These are welcome, and welcome too will be the approaching publication of a translation of Târanâtha's History of Buddhism (in Thibetan), of the importance of which some glimpses are afforded by an

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\* The modern or Lamaistic phase of Thibetan Buddhism, best described by Köppen in his second volume, is of course exclusively of non-Indian growth.

abstract in Wassiljew. But, we repeat, the Chinese or Thibetan scholar can only furnish materials. It is for the Lassens and Webers—men skilled in Indian history—to construct the edifice, or rather for those future workmen who we are fain to hope will arise among the British denizens in India, students trained in the use of that essential implement—the Sanscrit tongue,—familiar from personal observation of the existing Hindu languages with the laws which govern its degradations, and adding to German research and insight that regulative and corrective faculty which can only be gained by familiarity with the scene of the history, and with the habits and character and ideas of the unchanging Indian nation.

Before closing this sketch of the literature of our subject, we may advert to two books of the past few years, not as sources of original information, but as admirable hand-books for popularizing the information already obtained. It is a grievous error, and one which we trust will not long survive an increasing familiarity with the fascinating treatises of Mommsen and Curtius on Roman and Greek history, to suppose that the German is necessarily a dull and heavy writer,—a vast accumulator of facts, without system and without style. On our subject at all events the case is widely different. Max Düncker's "*Geschichte der Arier in der alten Zeit*" is the most readable summary of the results of recent inquiries into early Indian and Persian history which we have met; and, to come still closer to our present topic, Köppen's "*Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*" is not only lively and perfectly clear in style and arrangement, but in the accurate collation of its facts, drawn from a vast amount of reading, approaches the merit of an original treatise. It was unfortunately composed before Wassiljew had taught us clearly to discriminate the several chronological periods into which the history of Buddhism is divisible, but as a *répertoire* of all that was known at the time of its publication it is all but perfect.

It is not to the credit of our literature, that subjects so intimately bound up with English interests should be left not merely to German investigators, but to German popularizers; and if the conditions of English literary work preclude our students from venturing upon the market with books of the kind we have been describing, not to speak of weightier investigations, a wise Government would step into the place of private patrons. The support recently given to Mr. Hunter is of hopeful augury, but an isolated instance of recognition wrung from the



administration by the brilliance of Mr. Hunter's talents (and preceded, be it remembered, by a decided literary success) does not of itself constitute a new system. We hear much of Russia's rivalry in the East; let us at least attempt to emulate the Russians in one of their modes of acquiring influence among the Oriental nations—the liberal encouragement of Oriental studies. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

One point, and, perhaps, the most interesting, connected with Buddhistic history, has been treated by the authors we have enumerated in a degree altogether incommensurate with its importance; we refer to the origin of Buddhism. It is easy to see how, while there are two distinct sets of students who have devoted themselves respectively to the study of Buddhism and Brahmanism, the points of contact between the two systems should have been dealt with in a one-sided and insufficient manner. A writer like Max Müller, accurate and profound in his knowledge of special products and periods of the Indian mind, fails altogether to appreciate the interesting questions connected with the genesis of Buddhism. On the other hand, the authorities on Buddhism are seldom sufficiently well versed in the general history of Indian thought and development to be able to trace its evolution from, and its connection with, other systems. If we are unable to accept the surmises of the sceptical Wassiljew as the real solution of the problem, we are thrown back upon vague and mystical attempts to claim for Buddhism an impossible antiquity, to give life and substance to the series of pre-historic Buddhas, to connect the religion with some Turanian cult, with the Norse Odin, or with Druidism.\* The simple fact is that the origin of Buddhism can only be sought for in the social state, the religious tendencies, and the philosophical ideas

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\* See, for instance, Fergusson's *Architecture*, and the preface to Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*. Burnouf has well said (i. 70), "Ai-je besoin de rappeler que, pour quelques personnes, toutes les questions relatives au Bouddhisme étaient déjà décidées, quand on n'avait pas encore lu une seule ligne des livres que j'analyserai? . . . Pour les uns, le Bouddhisme était un vénérable culte né dans l'Asie Centrale, et dont l'origine se perdait dans la nuit des temps; pour les autres c'était une misérable contrefaçon du Nestorianisme; on avait fait de Buddha un Nègre, parce qu'il avait les cheveux crépus; un Mongol, parce qu'il avait les yeux obliques; un Scythe, parce qu'il se nommait Sâkya. On en avait même fait une planète; et je ne sais pas si quelques savants ne se plaisent pas encore aujourd'hui à retrouver ce sage paisible sous les traits du belliqueux Odin. Certes, il est permis d'hésiter quand à ces solutions si vastes on ne promet de substituer que des doutes, ou que des explications simples et presque vulgaires."

prevalent in India at the time of its founder, that is, about the sixth century before Christ. It was a plant of indigenous growth, and its antecedents can only be studied in its native soil.

Another class of writers err in another direction; renouncing the wilder flights of speculation, they abandon with them every attempt to establish a philosophic chain of causation, and confine their account of the origin of Buddhism to a sketch of the life of its founder derived from the Buddhist scriptures. How slight is the value of these traditions when not critically worked out, it will not be difficult to show.

The beginnings of Buddhism seem at the first glance to be exposed to the full light of history; the precepts and discourses of its founder are reported at length, and commented upon with minuteness in the sacred books of many countries; and it would seem an easy task to collate the several traditions, and admit as undoubtedly genuine whatever is common to them all. But several circumstances conspire to throw doubt upon the results obtainable by so simple a method. In the first place, the branches do not spring from the root. Buddhism developed itself for many generations in one locality and under a single set of influences, before it diverged into the various forms under which we now contemplate it. The concurrence, therefore, of traditions carries us back only to the time of the divergence, and the utmost that can be proved from the fact that a statement about the early history of the Buddhist Church recurs in the historical books both of China and Ceylon, is that it had come to be believed at or near the time of Asoka, or more than two hundred years after the date to which it refers. Again, there is good reason to believe that for some time, perhaps for two centuries after the death of Sâkyamuni, the art of writing was unknown in India; except in the memories of the faithful, no record existed of the facts of his life, or the essential points of his doctrine. Memory is a treacherous guardian; and if we consider the possibilities of conscious fraud, and the certainty of unintentional modification produced by the risks of transmission, the changes of circumstances, and even the mere lapse of time, we shall admit that the origins of Buddhism are far less susceptible of accurate historical treatment than those of either Christianity or Islam.

But this is not all. Apart from all questions of authenticity or inspiration, it is clear that the author, for instance, of the Gospel of St. Luke believed that he was writing history, and wrote in

an historical spirit. He set down what he believed to be fact, and intended that it should be received as fact. But the composer of a Buddhist *sūtra* had no sense for fact. Was this actually so, or not so, was a question which did not occur to him. Only, is it good for the use of edifying that it should be so written? Accordance with right reason was the sole canon laid down for the admission of a statement as scriptural. Whatever the Buddha might have said or done, the Buddha must have said or done, and so, as Buddhism split into schools, and each school obtained for a time the predominance, all their statements of belief, however modern, however contradictory of previous teaching, were put into the mouth of Sâkyamuni, and found their place in the canon as his utterances. In the last degraded days of Indian Buddhism, receipts for the philosopher's stone, charms for lulling winds and raising ghosts, and for even worse purposes, were freely ascribed to the Buddha; and discourses were invented picturing him as communicating them to his chosen disciples in his favourite places of resort; while in the earliest dialogues the same interlocutors amid the same scenes discourse a high and stern morality. It is as if the teaching of the followers of Plato throughout all the aberrations of the later Platonic schools had continued to be put into the mouth of Socrates. Not even for the earliest of these discourses can we claim the merit of definitely representing the founder's views. Their teaching is better and nobler than that of their successors; it is also simpler and more life-like; but which of these merits warrants us in supposing it to have been the Buddha's teaching? Criticism in this matter can only proceed by *a priori* inferences; Buddhism must have had an original element, a seed from which it sprung, some characteristics of doctrine or practice which belonged to its founder; *this* or *this* it may have borrowed; *that* looks like a part of its original essence. The results of such a process may be unsatisfactory; they will certainly be startling; but none the less we must accept them as our only means of knowing the truth, bearing in mind that the analysis of the documents of a religion, if conducted with common-sense, impartiality, knowledge of human nature, and, above all, sympathy, may furnish a respectable substitute for the actual facts which are missing.

But the Buddhist literature contains not only the alleged teachings of the Buddha, but also a mass of statements regarding events in his life, and in the lives of his disciples and

contemporaries. The *Lalitavistara*, for example, is a full, though incomplete, biography of the great teacher. Now, the very aspect of most of these works shows that they belong to a late period in the development of Buddhism. The doctrine of the Bodhisattvas is fully established. The Buddha is surrounded by angelic visitants, and his every look and gesture spreads terror or happiness through myriads of worlds. Lotuses spring where he treads. The most stupendous miracles occur at every moment of his life; the human, the natural, the possible, are lost in a vague stream of flickering wonders. Out of this chaos the modern narrator attempts to evolve some order, to work back from this kaleidoscopic jumble of lights and colours to the underlying truth. The simplest course, and the one which has been usually pursued, is to pick out all the *possible* incidents, all that can be cleared of the supernatural, and piece them into a connected life of the Buddha. Thus Barthélémy de St. Hilaire gives us a chapter on the life, containing the incidents which can be made to look historical, and a chapter on the legends, containing those which cannot. But we ask, what is the authority for this distinction? An event is not true because it is possible. If we read in the life of St. Columb or St. Gall that the holy man rebuked a wicked king with exceeding boldness, whereupon that king trembled, and submitted to the discipline of the lash; and in the next sentence, that the saint caused the hand of the king, which had been withered, to come out straight and beautiful, we have no business to accept the former, and reject the latter statement; both must stand or fall together, and the incredibility of a portion destroys or weakens our credence of the remainder. So with these lives of the Buddha. Nine of every ten statements they contain are palpable untruths;—dreams in texture, but dreams that were never dreamed, only invented; the tenth contradicts no physical law; and all ten rest on the same authority—an absolutely worthless one for matters of fact. How then can we learn? Simply by putting every statement through a rigorous cross-examination. Is this possible? is the first question to be asked, but only the first. Has it verisimilitude—the stamp and aspect which truth always bears, and which untruths often want? Is it the sort of fact which tradition would be likely to hand down through ages without literature, the sort of fact which men remember and tell? Is there any obvious motive for its invention,—to connect the Great Teacher with some later development of doctrine, to magnify some favourite modern virtue, to lend a plausible air of

sanctity to some place or family or usage, to exaggerate the early importance of the sect, to give it royal patronage or wide-spread fame, to heighten the impression of the virtue, the wisdom, the greatness of the founder, to make the story more pointed and striking, or even more square and symmetrical? When all these questions are answered, the utmost we can say is that the story *may* be true, and we must look to wider & *a priori* considerations to enable us to assert that it probably *is* true. The whole question is one of the more or less probable; the very existence of the historical Buddha is not ascertained in the sense in which the existence of Cæsar or Karl the Great is ascertained; and few of the neatly-told facts of his biography will bear examination. For an example, the young Siddhârtha is converted to the love of a solitary life of meditation by four noteworthy incidents. In the course of four drives from the palace to four gardens situated in four suburbs of the city, he meets in order with a decrepid old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a religious mendicant. On each occasion he enquires of his coachman, What is this? and each occasion the coachman improves by a homily on the ills of life—old age, sickness and death,—and their extirpation by means of the self-abandonment of the mendicant. Now this legend, as it involves no miracle, has crept into history, and is told seriously in most lives of the Buddha. But what claim has it to be considered historical? In the first place, the symmetry and repetition of the occurrences excite a doubt, and it is incredible that a highly-educated nobleman of sixteen should never have indulged before in reflections so obvious, should never have seen or thought over objects which present themselves in abundance in every bazar. Again, the introduction of the coachman is but an instance of the same train of thought (not peculiar to India) which forms the ground-work of the Bhagavadgîta, where God himself takes the coachman's form to illuminate the soul of a young prince. We can see in the story but the invention of a later day to account for a nobleman's conversion, and we can grant it no historical significance. But it will be said that under criticism of this kind the history will melt away. The sooner the better, if the history be not fact. Truth is founded on a rock; and it is our business to believe as fact only what can be fully established as fact, and to classify other statements according to their respective degrees of probability, or to throw them aside, except as illustrations of the mental and moral characteristics of those among whom they first obtained currency; for under

this treatment the wildest legends may be used to elicit the truth. Let there have been no Trojan war, is 'Homer not a storehouse of history? Such is the work—destructive and then constructive—which lies before the future historian of Buddhism; the present writer has neither the learning, the leisure, nor the industry which the task requires, and only desires to contribute his share of suggestions, and to show what has been, and what may yet be, done.

But the history of Buddhism cannot be drawn from the Buddhist scriptures alone. The facts which they bring to light must be placed in their due relation to the general Indian history: and we lay more stress upon this, as Buddhism has generally been held to be the domain of a special class of writers. Here, however, a difficulty meets us at the outset. There is no general Indian history, as we ordinarily understand the term; no possibility of weaving a continuous narrative of the events. The fragmentary condition of the records seems to defy chronology. Long ages of literary culture never produced an antiquarian, or even a chronicler. Prose writing in most countries commences with history in the form of annals. The Hebrews of the Scriptural period used prose for no other purpose; Hecataeus and Herodotus were the earliest Greek prose writers; Fabius Pictor, the earliest Roman. But in India there was a large body of composition on religious, philosophical and scientific subjects before any one thought of writing history. Indeed, in the Gangetic plain the simple art of the annalist seems to have been introduced by the Mussulman invaders. The *Râja Tarangini* and the *Mahawanso*, the oldest historical books in Indian languages, are the product of border countries, outlyers of Hindu civilisation. All therefore that we can learn of the course of events in India before the end of the tenth century, A.D., is derived from incidental sources of knowledge, namely, references in the works of foreigners, coins and inscriptions, and historical allusions or notices in books devoted to other purposes,—or from deductions drawn from the general body of literature. We shall glance at these sources in order, dwelling more particularly on those of them which illustrate our present subject.

*Firstly.*—The acquaintance with India, which we derive from the works of foreigners, is of the most fragmentary character. A few loose and distorted statements, which have cost antiquaries more trouble than they are worth, can be gleaned

from the earlier Greek writers.\* A gleam of light is thrown upon the state of the Indus region by the narratives of Alexander's expedition; and the embassy to Chandragupta was productive of interesting results; for, besides the extracts from Megasthenes given in Strabo, we find military details in Pliny's Sixth Book, which are, with probability, referred to the same source, and which enable us to define, with tolerable accuracy, the possessions and resources of the Mauriya King. But here the history abruptly stops, and the very name of Chandragupta's more powerful grandson seems to have been unknown to Western writers. From the epitomizer Justin and the Byzantine historians a few facts may be gathered regarding the migration of tribes on the North-Western frontier, and Ptolemy's geography supplies abundance of details, which would be worth more if his localities could be better identified. That our knowledge of Indian religions owes little to the Greeks might be inferred from the inaptitude of the latter to comprehend religious ideas and nomenclature dissimilar to their own. The institution of caste, the *yogis* and the *vānaprastha* mode of life naturally attracted observation. Some early notices are believed to refer to Buddhism, and the Sramanas or Buddhist devotees of Bactria were known by name to Clemens of Alexandria and other Christian writers. Add to this Jerome's reference to the miraculous birth of Buddha, and we have the sum total of all that Greek or Roman authors can tell us of the marvellous revolution of thought which gave Buddhism the first place among the religions of the East. Megasthenes describes the worship of Dionusos and Herakles as he saw it in Behar; but the tempting identification of these gods with Siva and Krishna† introduces a painful element of uncertainty into the chronology of Indian religions. The Buddhist narratives represent the popular objects of worship as Vaidic and elemental; Vishnu is rarely mentioned, and then in a subordinate position. The *avatars* belong to the later or

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\* Homer speaks of Eastern Ethiopians, and the Mahābhārata mentions "black inhabitants of the Himalayas"; *varvura* (Gk. *βαρβαρος*) is "curly-haired." Hence some theorists have built up the conception of a black Papuan or Negrito race which extended long ago from their present haunts through the Malay countries to Northern India, and have left a trace in the Andaman islanders. The story in Herodotus about the gold-hunting ants, as big as foxes, is derived with some probability from the marmots, whose heaps of dug-out earth Moorcroft noticed on the plateau of Ladakh. The *pipilika* gold is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

† See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* i. 925 (2nd ed.) and ii. 698, 732 (1st ed.).

Pauranic development of Hinduism, and the elevation of Râma and Krishna, heroes of popular romance, into incarnations of God, was probably a Brahmanic invention designed as a counterpoise to Buddhism, which drew much of its strength from its consecration of human heroes as objects of prayer and worship. In Saivism again we have, it seems, the development of some popular non-Aryan cult. Its bloody and obscene rites are foreign alike to the Hinduism of the Vedas, and to that in the bosom of which the Buddhist faith grew up, nor can we conceive a contrast greater than that between the triumphant Dionusos, the conquering hero who spread delight and jollity, and the Tantric divinity whose ornaments were the skulls of his victims, and whose tongue was red with human blood. What Megasthenes actually witnessed, it is impossible to say; the procession with tom-toms which reminded him of the Bacchic rites (rites which, of course, he was not indisposed to discover in a country which was the fabled home of the god), was probably then, as now, an ordinary feature of an Indian holiday.

With the debasement of letters in the lower empire, curiosity about the ways of life in foreign nations died out, and notices of India become more scanty till light breaks from a new quarter. The conversion of China to Buddhism attracted towards India that religious interest which has played so important a part in making the nations of the world acquainted with each other. Such an interest, when wakened in a literary community, naturally produced written mementoes of itself; and the works of the Chinese pilgrims give us the only real picture of life in India between Asoka and the Ghaznevide. Coins and inscriptions furnish names and dates, and lists of dynasties, more or less trustworthy, may be extracted from the Purânas; but so little do bare names teach of real history that the existence of a preponderating Buddhist monarchy in the seventh century was not even suspected, and Hiuen-Tsang's picture of the court of Silâditya came upon the world of students like a new revelation. But Buddhism was now approaching the end of its career; soon religion ceased to attract travellers to India, and gloom again settles over her history till commerce and conquest led the Mussulman to her shores.

*Secondly.*—Inscriptions and coins play an important part in the dearth of genuine literary record, but the period for which they serve as material helps towards the study of Hindu history, does not extend as far back as the origin of Buddhism. There exists, as we shall see later on, reason to believe that the use of



written letters was not known, at all events, to the Indians of Madhyadesa, much before the time of Asoka. Be this as it may, no actual inscription on stone or metal can be traced to an earlier date, and it is perhaps a proof of the novelty of the discovery that Asoka should have found it necessary to inscribe on stone political and religious manifestoes and epitomes of his principles of government, which later rulers would have been content to circulate by means of the pen or the press. To this, however, we owe the permanency of his edicts, and the inscriptions of Asoka supply the first safe standing-ground for the history of Buddhism, the first point at which we may securely take stock of the new conceptions which it had introduced, and work backward to its origins and forward to its developments. Later inscriptions have, as may be seen from the pages of the *Bengal Journal*, thrown much light on doubtful points, and we owe to them an increased knowledge of many isolated dynasties, but they are not comparable in this respect to those accumulations of coins of the Bactrian period, which have thrown open, so to speak, a new range of history. The gradual debasement of the coinage from the pure Greek type to one entirely Indian, both in conception and execution, affords material for much interesting speculation, and the figures and emblems upon coins are valuable illustrations of the history of religion.

*Thirdly.*—Historical references in works intended for other purposes than the teaching of history, would, in a largely literary age, enable us to reconstruct contemporary history with considerable success. Indeed, where stilted and pompous views of the dignity of history have prevailed, we look exclusively to this source of information for our knowledge of many minor details, such as the history of fashion, of taste, and of society. The free use of the allusions in novels, plays, sermons, periodical essays, and ballads, has given a charm to the writings of Macaulay, to which no mere chronicler of the rise and fall of ministries and the dispositions of the battle-field could lay claim. In India we cannot expect assistance from the fugitive literature of the times we are studying,\* for there is no such thing. Allusive literature springs up in periods when reading is a common accomplishment, for it appeals to an immediate success, and adapts itself to the lightest requirements of men,—to their desire for amusement or pastime. But the Oriental regarded literature as a solemn and sacred function. It was not to wile away an idle hour, or amuse a festive crowd, that he set himself to string together his weighty words, but for some grave purpose

of religion or philosophy. Every book was to be a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰετ*; something that would repay the trouble of being learnt off by heart, and recited on many future days to listeners yet unborn. The solemn function of teaching left no place for the light play of fancy that strikes at contemporary persons and events. The knowledge of the world, as we call it, had no charm, the knowledge of men no interest, except so far as the gravity of their authority sanctioned some usage of religion or some tenet of wisdom. Whatever was alien to the serious purpose of the book, it never occurred to the author to note. Hence the difficulty of tracing by allusion the events contemporary with such works as the Brâhmanas and the Upanishads and the earlier theological manuals generally. Some facts have been deduced from expressions casually employed by Pânini as examples of rules. Max Müller's chronological conclusions (in the *History of Early Sanscrit Literature*) rest on the very scantiest data, or rather are derived from a consideration of the sequence observable in the tone and contents of the series of works which he describes.

In books of a later period there is a larger amount of quasi-historical matter, but all is subordinated to some special end, the glorification of some particular creed or school. The Brâhmanas are the greatest offenders in this respect. Indeed much of early history, as derivable from the Brâhmanical works, seems to have been constructed with the definite object of introducing a view of early Brâhman supremacy, which has no foundation in fact. The destruction of the Kshatriyas, for instance, by Parasu Râma may be a myth, condensing in a single event the tendencies of ages, but it may be a pure falsehood intended to serve some purpose of Brâhmanical glory. To take a stronger instance, the Mânava Dharma Sâstra was once received as an actual view of the state of society in some uncertain age, when the kings and warriors were Kshatriyas, and Brâhmanas ruled the state as ministers, and exercised priestly functions of a nature to raise them far above the secular rulers. It is now regarded as a Brâhman Utopia, a picture of what the state should be, which never had its counterpart in fact. The light of history is fitful and uncertain, but it reveals to us no period corresponding to the picture of Manu. The first dynasty of which we have real historical knowledge, was a Sudra dynasty which ruled in no remote corner, but over the whole of Northern India, and from that time till the Mahomedan invasion we may safely assert that the race of low-caste and heretical monarchs

never failed out of the land. But Brâhman ascendancy was growing among the people, and Brâhmins had what we should call the control of the press: they had great literary power and a large audience, and they used their means throughout long generations with the steady and obstinate determination to win their way to the highest social influence. Hence these fictions of Brâhman ascendancy in the primeval times; hence the reflection of the existing system of caste back upon the earliest ages; hence a crowd of legends asserting the greatness and sanctity and divinity of their race. This consideration introduces an element of the greatest uncertainty into history, so far as history is built upon traditions preserved in books; and it becomes indispensable to analyse the books which remain to us with the object of detecting the *arrière pensée* with which they were composed, or how far they may have been recast in later times by a jealous priesthood. The Purânas are obvious instances of works concerned with the definite motive of recommending certain sets of religious ideas and observances, and falsifying history to serve the purpose of their writers; and the great epics, originally spontaneous presentations of popular tradition, have been subjected to recension with similar objects. On the other hand, the Buddhist scriptures, as entirely alien to Brâhmanism, were contemptuously cast aside and, being untouched by recension, possess considerable corrective value, though subject to their own class of aberrations; while of the earliest compositions of all, the hymns of the Rig-Veda, we may safely maintain that they are spontaneous productions of the unbiassed Hindu mind, and that their early-established sanctity has preserved them from sacrilegious revision. Such history as can be gleaned from the Rig-Veda (and the amount is but slight, including merely a few geographical notices, a sketch of manners and religion, and references to the emigrations of a few early tribes,) may be accepted as entirely free from distorting influences; in all the other cases we must apply the suitable correctives to each.

The Buddhist history will, we may expect, depreciate the power and influence of the Brâhmins; it will exaggerate the territorial dominion, the wealth and magnificence of the monarchs who favoured Buddhism; it will glorify the earthly origin of Siddhârtha, and represent the Sâkya race, petty princes of a corner of Gorakhpur, as pre-eminent in power and influence among the rulers of India; it will, in spite of chronological difficulties, count the philosophers and grammarians whose

name was in every mouth, as disciples of the Buddha or supporters of Buddhism ; it will run into the utmost numerical extravagance in estimating the number of *sthaviras* who attended a council, or of mendicants fed by a prince or noble, or in enumerating the great foundations of the Buddhist princes—*stupas* and *vihāras* ; and it will ignore all persons and events that do not tend to its own glory. The philosophical religion of the Upanishads is not alluded to by the Buddhists even for the purpose of controversy ; and of Rāma and Krishna, who must have in the earliest times occupied some place in popular tradition, it never occurred to them to speak. Similar omissions are chargeable against the Brāhmins, who have preserved no tradition of the mighty empire of Asoka, so that if we had not the ample evidence of inscriptions, we might conceive that the extent of his dominion and the facts of his life were inventions of Buddhist romance. So fragmentary, so distorted by the passions and prejudices of sects, are the materials with which we have to work.

Of these materials it may well be admitted that the Buddhist are the most valuable for historical purposes. The *Mahābhārata*, rich as it is in its surroundings, has in its substance little significance, and may be but a lying tale. The Homeric legend has this advantage over the Hindu, that we can attach its pictures and allusions to a definite date, and form a correct view of society at an ascertainable period ; while the *Mahābhārata* is of such uncertain origin, and has been so worked up and disguised by recension, that criticism has a task of double difficulty, first in ascertaining what parts of the work belong to the original scheme, and, secondly, in deciding, within many centuries of time marked by many revolutions of thought, to what approximate era that original scheme should be referred. The *Purānas* again furnish abundance of quasi-historical matter, but mostly in the form of long genealogical lists, fragmentary, arbitrary, and displaying too many traces of invention to be of solid use. The Buddhist books, on the other hand, relate to a period which can be approximately fixed, and, after the first two centuries at least, to events for which archaeologists are able to furnish corroboration. (Witness Cunningham's discovery of the relics of Kāśyapa and Madhyama sent as missionaries to the Himavanta after the third general council.\*) Asoka especially, in many respects the most conspicuous

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\* *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 119.

of Indian monarchs, has a pre-eminence in this, that the events of his life are well known to us from almost contemporary records; he himself on rock and stone has left us a mass of knowledge, and his reign so fixed itself in men's minds as the culminating era of Buddhism that its minutest details were long and eagerly remembered. Before Asoka we find a period of darkness, with only here and there some isolated name or fact which seems to render the darkness visible; after his death, although the tradition of great empires meets our eye; although we hear of courts where learned men shone like jewels, of mighty victories achieved by renowned heroes; although pillar and *stûpa* and dome and monastery studded the country, each bearing the name and praises of its founder; although commerce flourished, and the Indian Ocean, then meriting its name, was bordered from Dwîpa Sukbatara\* to furthest Bali with Indian settlements; although the arts and sciences culminated, and a thousand pens were at work recounting the ancient glories of religion and the deeds of mighty heroes now fast becoming the popular gods, or spinning endless cobwebs of metaphysical speculation, "where nought is everything, and everything is nought," or representing in scenic vision the every day life of court and people;—yet no historian sat down to write the annals of his time, and the greatest names of the period formed only centres for cycles of romantic and absurd fables, such as those which cluster round the name of Vikramaditya. Buddhism produced an energy of thought which in its first glow fixed itself on an immediate present; its later stages and the new religions of Krishna and the Tantras strove to ally themselves with an unknown and formless past.

Having then these subsidiary sources of information, which, slight as each seems when regarded alone, form in the mass a considerable possession, the historian of early India is bound, in constructing from them a consistent fabric, to rely for the most part on that class of considerations which might, in relation to actual historical facts, be denominated *à priori*; we mean on general ideas derivable from facts of race and national character, and from that view of the national evolution of thought which the literature as a whole supplies. It is not for us to push the subject further in regard to the general phenomena of Indian history. We have said enough to show something of

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\* Dioscoridis of the Greeks; now Socotra.

the mutual light which is reflected at once by Buddhist upon general Indian history, and by general history upon Buddhism ; and to convince our readers how imperfect must be the procedure of those who attempt to illustrate the one without the other. We have shown that Buddhist literature affords a chronological *point d'appui* for the historian of India, that it gives us the external history, and paints the ideas, of a definite epoch, and thus enables us to correct the speculations of those who, attaching exaggerated importance to some favourite line of argument, form conclusions at variance with fact regarding pre-historic India, and we have hinted, on the other hand, that as Buddhism was no intrusive phenomenon, but a blossom from the Indian tree, it must be explicable by means of the laws of Indian thought, and the sum-total of previous Indian development. In the few pages which remain, we shall attempt a sketch, necessarily brief and meagre, of the conditions of Indian society under which Buddhism rose. The present writer's interest in his subject, though strong, is new, and his aim is only to place the conclusions of others, so far as he can accept them, in a clearer light than has hitherto been done in any popular writing.

We have seen that the history of Buddhism, so far as it deals with ascertained facts, commences with Asoka ; tradition pushes it several centuries further back. It will be useful to settle a few of the more important dates connected with its rise, before proceeding with our story. That of Asoka can be established as closely as Indian events will bear, and will help us toward the era of Sâkyamuni. Asoka's grandfather, Chandragupta, the founder of the Peacock \* dynasty of Patna, was ruler of an empire which included the Panjâb, in which country he waged war with Seleukos Nikator, who reigned in Asia from 312 to 280 B.C. That Chandragupta was elevated to power in the Panjâb on the death or departure of Alexander's lieutenants, is stated by a late writer, Justin, whose work, however, is an epitome of that of Trogus Pompeius. Trogus Pompeius lived in the Augustan age, and had before him the Indian memoirs of Megasthenes, the well-known ambassador of Seleukos at the Court of Chandragupta. Justin's authority,

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\* This derivation of Mauriya is obtained from a commentary quoted by Turnour in his introduction to the Mahawanso, p. xxxix. That Pataliputra, called by the Greeks Palibothra, is the present Patna, has been very fairly established.

therefore, is decidedly good, and we may assume that Chandragupta's reign commenced in or close to the year 315 B.C. That he reigned twenty-four years, and his son Bindusâra twenty-four or twenty-eight years, rests upon native testimony which we have no reason to gainsay. We have thus 267—263 B.C. as the time of the accession of Asoka, a date further confirmed by the inscription near Peshâwar, which gives the names of his Grecian contemporaries, Antiochos, Antigonos, Ptolemaios and Magas. Three of these are dynastic names, but only one Magas is known to have reigned, *viz.*, the king of Kurênê in Africa, who died B.C. 258.

The date of Sâkyamuni cannot be established with similar accuracy. We may lay aside the prevailing Chinese tradition founded on a prophecy of the Buddha that his religion would be introduced into China a thousand years after his death; and the fourteen different dates current in Thibet would only embarrass us. The Ceylonese tradition is more worthy of respect, for the Ceylonese alone among Indian people have a long course of contemporary annals, and up to within two centuries of the time of Asoka their chronology is demonstrably accurate. The Ceylonese too were the earliest converts out of Hindustan, and their tradition represents, it may be supposed, that of the Indian Buddhists of the time of Asoka. They fixed the year corresponding to 543 B.C. for the death of the Buddha; and if this date agreed with the others given by them, it might be accepted as not improbable. But they lay still more stress on the tradition that 218 years intervened between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Asoka, or more probably the great Council of the Church held in the eighteenth year of his reign; and this tradition recurs in other countries. Now the accepted chronology of the kingdom of Magadha or Bahar, from the sovereign contemporary with the Buddha till the accession of Asoka, fills up this interval of two centuries with tolerable nicety; and the difficulties consist in fitting in with that calculation the date of 543 B.C. for the Buddha's death, which brings Asoka about sixty years too early, and makes him a contemporary of Alexander, which we know to be impossible. There are two modes of escape; either the death of Sâkyamuni is antedated by sixty years, or sixty years have slipped out of the intervening chronology. Professor Lassen adopts the latter conjecture, and there is a natural temptation to allow as much time as possible for the development of Buddhism; but his restoration of the lost sixty years is founded on a pure hypothesis. And there is, it seems to us,

a consideration which should deter us from such an attempt. How did the Ceylon Buddhists arrive at the era of Sâkyamuni's death? They would of course claim a special revelation; but this we cannot admit. They had no independent chronological datum to guide them. They were not helped by synchronisms with any foreign era. They obtained the date by computing the reigns of the kings backward from Asoka till they arrived at the king contemporary with the Buddha. If an error occurred in the computation, that error would vitiate the result. We cannot assume the result to be correct, and the computation wrong. Their error lay in their datum, the reign of Asoka, which they placed about sixty years too early. The result is that the date of 543 B.C. cannot be supported, and we may lay down that, according to the general belief of early times, the death of Sâkyamuni had happened about 200 years before Asoka's accession, or about 460 to 470 years B.C. If this general belief be not well founded (and an exact list of kings, with the length of their reigns, handed down from times when the use of writing was not general, is no doubt open to suspicion), we have no means whatever of correcting it. It is impossible to measure the development of thought by centuries, especially in periods of intellectual excitement, and in the absence of details, an *a priori* philosopher would have been disposed to expand the events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of our own history over an indefinitely large space of years.

The natural division of India is that into Hindustan and the Deccan, not because the one is continental, and the other peninsular, nor because the one consists mainly of two extensive river-valleys, and the other of an elevated table-land, but because they are separated by a barrier of mountain and forest, the Vindhya range, which renders impossible any but a very slow infiltration of ideas and peculiarities of race. At the times of which we speak, such infiltration was already at work. Aryan merchants visited the harbours of both coasts of the peninsula; and as far back as the age of Solomon, brought the produce of Malabar,—conspicuous animals, elephants' tusks, fragrant woods,\* and such things as savages barter,—to factories at the mouth of the Indus, whither arrived at measured intervals the adventurous Phœnician squadron, bringing the Hindus the first news

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\* Also perhaps cotton, which in Hebrew, and tin, which in Greek, bears an Indian name. See Lassen, i. 539, and ii. 553; also, especially, Gesenius, in *Ersch and Gröber's Cyclopædia*, s. v. Ophir.



they had heard of foreign lands and gods and races, and of the alphabet, that wondrous instrument for expressing thought, which the Semitic mind had brought to maturity before its want was felt by other nations. As time advanced, the coasts of the peninsula were studded with Aryan factories, and from each of these points the knowledge of agriculture and useful arts, and the simpler religious usages of the Aryans, radiated into the interior. There was, too, among the Brâhmanas an extraordinary usage which largely contributed to the civilization of the forest tribes. Every Brâhman was bound by custom, at a certain period of his career, to quit the life of cities, and retire into the forest to spend the rest of his days as a hermit. The sages scattered in the woods of the Vindhya, and even beyond that great natural boundary, earned the veneration of the wild hunters among whom they lived; in return for the necessities of life, they gave them the rudiments of teaching, and thus Aryan culture spread into the heart of the peninsula, as well from its northern frontier as from its maritime shores. But there was no conquest, no armed occupation by Aryan warriors. Their force, never perhaps very considerable, had spent itself among the great inert mass of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Ganges valley, as, pursuing the line of least resistance, they first swept, then crept, towards the point where Calcutta now stands. The broad plains of the Ganges and the Indus sufficed for them; and if the legendary Râma was in truth a Hindu conqueror who traversed the southern plateau, his expedition left no mark and excited no emulation. Chandragupta's empire united all the Aryan principalities of the North, but did not overstep the boundaries of the Vindhya.\*

It is possible that the Aryanization of Northern India may have been overstated; it is certain that the conditions of the question are not always accurately conceived. How was the country peopled before the earliest Aryan tribes entered from the North-West? and what has become of the original population? A glance at the several divisions of India will collect into a focus what scattered rays of light may anywhere be met with. The south is inhabited by a number of races of common type whose

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\* The Pândhya Kingdom of South India was probably ruled over by an offshoot of the great Aryan family; but this does not prove colonization more than Sir James Brooke's *râj* in Borneo proves English immigration there. It was probably due to the ascendancy of one vigorous Aryan family over comparative savages..

language is found to be what is called Turanian, which merely means that it stands on the same grade of development with those of the Central Asian races, of which the Turkish is the best known type. But the languages of South India have a fixity which is not found among Nomads, and the several populations speaking them were in all probability settled within their present boundaries before the Aryan invasion. The hypothesis that the Dravidian tribes were driven by that invasion into the South is one that cannot be maintained. They have no linguistic relations with any people of Northern India, and there is nothing to explain their origin and migrations except the fact that a language with some identical roots is spoken by the Brahuis or mountaineers of Beluchistan, which would point to an immigration from the North-West at some period long before the dawn of history. The forests and mountains of Central India are inhabited principally by \*Gonds and other tribes, rougher and more uncultured members of the Southern family of nations, and like them to be provisionally regarded as aboriginal, that is to say, as having inhabited their present seats as far back as history and tradition reach. More to Eastward are Santhals and Kols, forest tribes whose language shows a different set of roots, and whose traditions point to immigration from the Northern plains in times not very remote.\* These help to solve our problem, but only partially, as a few scattered tribes can barely account for a small portion of the population of the plains. In the Himalayas again, to the north of the Ganges valley, prevail Thibetan tribes, whose marked physiognomy distinctly separates them from the inhabitants of India. Now, looking to the plains themselves, we find that their populations class themselves broadly into three great divisions: the cultivable portions of the Panjâb and Sind, with the bordering countries to East and West, are occupied mainly by Jâts; the Upper Ganges, as far as Patna, and its affluents, by Hindustanis; and the Delta, with its neighbourhood, by Bengalis. Who the Jâts are we know from history. Migrations of nomad tribes in the Chinese Empire pushed a Turanian race to the frontiers of Kashmir before the beginning of our era. At the time of Christ one of its chiefs was in possession of the Kashmir valley, and founded a "Scythian Kingdom," which, in the course of years, reached to

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\* See especially Mr. Hunter's valuable fourth chapter; also an excellent paper on the races of Chôta Nagpore, in the Bengal Journal for 1866, by Colonel Dalton.

the mouth of the Indus on one side, and to the Upper Ganges on the other. After conquest followed occupation, and the military Jâts dislodged the weak and scattered Aryans of the Indus, who took refuge in the country about Surat, the Ariake of Ptolemy, and long afterwards emerged into history as Mah-rattas. In the Hindustanis we find a race which beyond all others in India can claim pure Aryan blood. The proportion of the upper classes to the Sûdras is greater than elsewhere ; and all Aryan history is, so to speak, concentrated in the tract which they inhabit. Here dwelt the great traditional races, the Kurus and Pandus, the story of whose wars and hate is to the Hindus of the present day what the wrath of Achilles and the confederacy of the Seven against Thebes was to the Greeks. Here reigned the venerable lines named from the Sun and from the Moon, to whom every petty chief in India defiantly traces back his pedigree. Here Râma and Krishna led their tribes in many a fray and foray,—uncouth heroes of a primitive time, but of force to hold captive the popular heart, till the exigencies of controversy required the consecration of new gods, and the Brâhman found no others whose claims would be so readily admitted. Here the division of caste was consecrated, and the order of society, as we read it in Manu, was elaborated ; and if the earliest rhythmic treasures of the Aryan mind point to a mere western locality, they serve but as the foundation of the vast edifice of commentary and ritual and speculation which was raised upon them here. Here, too, in the heart of Brâhmanism, arose that Buddhistic reform the history of which we propose to trace, and which the speculative and ascetic tendencies, till then the exclusive property of the Brâhman, fostered and fed. The Brâhmanic system never prevailed in the Panjâb, whose scanty Aryan population was exposed to foreign influences, and followed the settlers of the Middle Land neither in their religious speculations nor in their social development ; and in Bengal it advanced so slowly that in the seventh century after Christ it was found necessary to introduce from the far west a company of Brâhman, who are at this day claimed by the main body of Bengali Brâhman as their ancestors.

Bengal, in fact, has been Aryanized rather by contact than by conquest. When the Aryan invaders entered North India, they found a sparse population of swarthy tribes of low development. Of these some submitted, and were received into their organization as slaves or Sûdras ; others, the demons or ogres of the earliest songs, harrassed the new settlers as long as they could,

and, finally worsted, fled right and left into the lower ranges, or forward into the marshy flats of Bengal. Thus we have in Kumaon on one side, and in Rajmahal on the other, tribes apparently consanguineous with the Sûdras or low caste inhabitants of Hindustan; and in Bengal a nation of Sûdras reverencing a body of Brâhmins, whose light complexion bespeaks their difference of race, and whose traditions, as we have seen, point to a modern introduction. In this way the bulk of the non-Aryan inhabitants of the Middle Land found themselves swept down among the kindred tribes which were struggling with nature in the new-risen Bengal, where, while the Aryans were developing their religion and order not without effort in Oude and the Doab, they also progressed in the arts of life by the help of peaceful intercourse with their neighbours, of Brahmanical settlements in their midst, and ultimately of commercial and political relations with Aryan states. A concentrated population, with its close contact between man and man, was capable of retaining and communicating such impressions, which were lost among the kindred tribes of sparse mountaineers, and as from time to time we meet in Indian literature with casual notices of the Eastern kingdoms, we can trace a distinct advance in manners and in importance.

The traditions of the time of Sâkyamuni have preserved to us the names of several kings his contemporaries, and there is no doubt that Aryan India had never up to this time been united under a single ruler. In the limited tract of country which the Buddha's wanderings embraced, Bhâgalpur, Bahar, Gorakhpur, Oude, and Benares formed separate kingdoms, while Tirhut was under the oligarchical sway of a particular family.\* But even the vassals who ruled subordinate districts affected princely style. Every gentleman's household in India is regulated like a court, and the steward of a country squire, or the head-clerk of a merchant, bears the same title with an emperor's prime minister. This inherent feudalism is incomplete without a head, but before the fourth century B.C. no Aryan monarch had raised himself so high as to claim allegiance from his fellow-kings. The nameless Raja (for Porus or Paurava is a mere adjective of race) who opposed Alexander with such determination, was but one of several rulers in the Panjâb alone, and there were tribes in that degraded country, as the

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\* The Likhavis of Vaisâli, which was situated on the Gandak, nearly opposite Patna.

Brāhmans styled it, who knew neither priest nor king. But while Alexander was on the Indus, the states on the Ganges were undergoing a process of consolidation. The king of Patna had become supreme on the middle Ganges, and the mere rumour of his strength sufficed to check the Macedonian advance. After Alexander's death at Babylon, when crowns nearer home were to be had for the fighting for, his lieutenants hastened away to join the *mêlée*, first murdering the Paurava raja in order to carry away his elephants, which counted for a serious help in warfare.\* In the disorganization which followed, Chandragupta found an opportunity of making himself master of the Panjâb, and soon felt himself sufficiently strong to attack the Patna monarchy, before the bare repute of which the Greeks had quailed. But the Patna king's unpopularity helped his adversary; and aided by Brāhman intrigue against a low-caste ruler, Chandragupta made himself master of Patna, and in time of the whole of Northern India, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges. His dominions thus embraced the whole of the present Bengal Presidency, with the northern part of that of Bombay, and the outlying valley of the Kâbul river. It is doubtful whether Kashmir formed part of his empire; but it was undoubtedly part of Asoka's, who also extended his dominions southward along the sea-board of the Bay of Bengal. Thus Asoka's empire was made up of three different groups of communities in as many\* grades of development. The nations on the Ganges had carried out their proper Indian culture, unmoved by any external influence except that of the great servile mass below. To the west of these, from Kashmir to Sind, and from Kandahar (*Alexandria apud Paropamisum*) to Surat, dwelt a series of nations equally Aryan but not equally Indian, degraded in the eyes of the Manu school of politicians, but advanced, if we measure them with the world at large; for Semitic culture had operated for eight hundred years on their sea-board; some of their tribes had long been subject to Persia, and had participated in the breadth of view and the social growth that are found even among the distant dependencies of a great empire; whatever thought was simmering among Thibetan

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\* The elephant plays an important part in the history of Greek relations with India. Seleukos failed to defeat Chandragupta, but his object was gained by the barter of the Kâbul valley for the elephants, which obtained him the victory at Ipsos. Yet oftener than otherwise we find that elephants on the battle-field caused embarrassment and ruin to their possessors.

and Turanian hordes might reach them from Kashmir; and, lastly, the brief occupation by Alexander, and the contact of the Grecian kingdoms of Asia and Bactria opened to them the ideas of the West, and gave them that flexibility of thought, that readiness to receive and to transform the mental wealth of others, which is more than ideas, for it is the parent of ideas. It was in these regions, and under these influences, that Buddhism broke loose from its Brāhmanical fetters, and was transformed from a Hindu order of mendicant schismatics into a new religion built on the base of a new philosophy, broad and deep enough to embrace the Asiatic world. In the third place, Asoka's dominion included the non-Hindu communities of Bengal, Orissa, and Telingana, savage tribes just struggling into social order under Aryan guidance, but important enough, numerically, to burden with materialistic superstition the advance of thought, and contribute those elements of degradation which ruined religion by relic worship, and travestied philosophy by magic. The dead weight of Bengali materialism balanced the idealism of Balkh and Kashmir; and thus the several influences which were to determine the course of Buddhism were combined by the consolidation of India under the empire of the Maurya monarchs, creating a sense of unity, which retained its power even after that empire had split once more into its component elements.

In an essay devoted to the antecedents of Buddhism we need not extend our view beyond the Hindu communities, among which it made its way for the first two centuries of its existence; but some sketch of the civilization of those communities is indispensable for the development of our subject. Buddhism does not begin with Sâkyamuni. To borrow an expression from its own philosophy, every event must have a sufficient prior cause, and absolute beginnings elude our grasp. The tendency of the founder's own teaching, as well as the growth of its religion after his death, must have been determined by the currents of contemporary thought. A new idea, to obtain currency, must be the expansion of an existing idea; otherwise the seed falls upon stony ground, and takes no root. It is therefore essential for us to analyse the ideas that were current in the Hindu mind at the time of Sâkyamuni's appearance; but as ideas are to a great extent determined by outward causes, we have first to sketch the material civilization which the Hindus had attained.

This was considerable only in comparison with what other nations, similarly left to their own resources, have exhibited.

Many centuries separated them from the primitive era reflected in the Vedas,—centuries fertile in the organizing power which had transformed them from a community of simple shepherds into a compact and complicated republic; but they had been absolutely isolated from that contact with other forms of life and modes of thought which feeds the many-sided activity of modern civilization. Three inventions especially, which added to the intellectual possessions, and stimulated the mental activity of other nations, were, when Buddhism appeared upon the scene, totally unknown to the Hindus. We refer to the use of writing, the use of coined money, and the practice of building in stone.

That a nation possessing an ancient and extensive literature, and holding in its fullest form the doctrine of verbal inspiration, should not have known the art of writing, is a statement so startling as to be naturally received with reluctance, but the arguments of Professor Max Müller seem incontrovertible. If, during the whole course of ancient Hindu literature, including the period of inspiration, the period of comment, and the period of compression into Sūtras or manuals in which, among other subjects, grammar and pronunciation are treated, can be found no reference to pen or book or writing, we may safely conclude that the art was unknown, or at least unpractised. The Hebrew poetry, which covers a much smaller space, and deals with fewer subjects, abounds with such allusions. The Bible is, as its name implies, a *book*; Moses received the *written* law on Mount Sinai; but the inspired works of the Hindus are called *śruti*, that which has been *heard*, and even after the practice of writing became general, it was declared explicitly, “whosoever writes the Vedas shall go to hell,”—a sufficient proof that they had hitherto been handed down orally. Megasthenes, in describing the customs of the Hindus in the time of Chandragupta, says nothing of books or scribes, and expressly remarks that no written codes were used in judicial proceedings. Pāṇini’s Grammar was composed before the time of Asoka, and Pāṇini never refers to the form of any letter. The only expression in his genuine work which implies an acquaintance with the alphabet is an adjective *Yavanānī*, commonly used to qualify *lipi*, or writing, which probably refers to the Greek or some Western character known in India by repute, or perhaps actually used in the Panjāb. Alexander found books of pressed cotton in use there, and after the annexation of the Panjāb, the art might rapidly spread. The first actual proof of the use of writing in Eastern India is furnished by the inscriptions

of Asoka.\* We may perceive at once the influence of this fact on speculation. The oral transmission of knowledge confined it to definite classes of the community. It became the monopoly of a profession; and while the Brāhmins anxiously maintained their own privileges, their doctrines diverged further and further from those of the community at large, and at last became absolutely unintelligible to them.

The introduction of a regular coinage followed but slowly in the wake of the alphabet. From the imperishable nature of coins, they are the most authentic of historical memorials, and the absence of coins representing the early periods of history cannot possibly be the result of accident. Before the Greeks introduced coinage, mere shapeless lumps of metal of definite weight were used for barter, and the freedom of merchandize was hampered by the cumbrousness of a system of exchange, not much less rude than the exchange in kind which prevails among savages.

No existing architectural monument dates before Asoka, and the beginnings of Indian architecture are to be looked for in the Buddhist reliquary and the hermit's cell. The present aspect of many Indian cities may serve to recall the appearance of all the great towns of early times, mere aggregations of thatched cottages with walls of mat or of unbaked mud, scarcely more permanent than the encampment of a Tartar horde. Stone or brick building has superseded wood for the wealthier classes; but the early architectural forms point to wood as the first material; and we may suppose the chiefs to have occupied palaces of one or two stories of carved and painted wood, with a wooden stockade for defence. To what risks from wind, fire, and the white ant, such dwellings would have been exposed, all who have dwelt in India can testify. The cyclone of 1864 levelled with the ground sixty thousand mat-houses in Calcutta alone, and the annual destruction by fire in the dry season exceeds estimate. Hence it is that of the flourishing cities of the pre-Buddhistic era not a trace remains. What is at first sight yet more remarkable, no single Hindu temple can be ascribed to a period before the Christian

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\* See Max Müller, *A. S. Literature*, 497—544, and Wassiljew, pp. 21, 22, 29, 31, 51. He maintains that the character of the inscriptions is derived from the Greek through Bactria, but it is probably Semitic, disguised by the lapse of time occupied in its progress eastward. For the opposite view of the question, consult Lassen i, 723, *sqq.* (seconded), and ii. 718. We have not access to Prof. Goldstücker's arguments against Prof. Max Müller.



era. The primitive gods of the Aryans, clearly recognized as elemental powers, dwelled not in temples made with hands. The sun, the moon, the winds of heaven, the blue sky, and the cloud, which all might look upon, were themselves the images of Deity, and the stone cell or temple roof would only hide the God from his worshippers. Buddhism, with its opposition to the bloody and costly sacrifices of the Brâhmans, would have seemed little likely to require, more than they, the aid of the builder, only that it introduced a new element into religious feeling—the veneration for persons. Relics of holy men, above all, of the founder, must be kept secure from danger of fire or robbery; hence the invention of the *stûpa* or tope,—that magnified relic-box which has served as the model for all indigenous sacred architecture. The temples of Tanjore and Bhubaneswar are nothing but applications of the Buddhist pyramid to the worship of the Pauranic deities; and till the extension of Islam necessitated the adaptation of religious buildings for congregational purposes, no other form was known. Soon it was not relics only which required safe keeping; the coins of the Bactrian Diodotos or Menander, with their striking clearness of type, may have early suggested, as they penetrated into the eastern bazars, the device of cutting in stone or metal the traditional features of a venerated teacher, and ere long, wherever a Buddhist community sprang up, its first care was to acquire or construct an image of Sâkyamuni. Thus sprang into existence the sacred arts, which we now call the fine arts.

The subjects of Asoka, then, were from this point of view a rude race, dwelling in huts of mud and straw, conducting trade by simple barter, or by the aid of a few rough, unstamped metal discs, unable to read and write, and without any general diffusion of education. In this last respect, as in some of the others, the Indian subjects of Victoria are not much advanced. Reading and writing are not uncommon accomplishments, but they are generally confined to purposes of business, and the profession of knowledge is left, as it always has been, to special classes of the community. It may well be supposed that in days when that profession was based upon a long and severe exercise of the memory, unaided by written manuals, the monopoly of knowledge was unbroken, and tended to produce monopoly of power. It was taught by an authority which the people had no means of questioning, that the distinction of caste was as much founded in nature as the distinction between man and animals, or between one species of animal and another; that

spiritual rule was the prerogative of one, temporal rule of another, caste. The will of the ruler was thus unchecked by public opinion, and no extremes of atrocity or rapacity would revolt his subjects, so long as he retained the good will of the privileged classes. But the alienation of those classes was fatal to him, as we have seen in the case of Nanda the Rich, the predecessor of Chandragupta. On the whole, if the legendary history of this period be at all to be relied on, the constitutional control exercised by the king's Brâhmanical advisers worked for good; their voices were on the side of equity and mildness, and tempered despotism by good sense. Periods of oppression and acts of cruelty occurred as in other Oriental countries; and mutilation, as now in Nepâl, formed a recognized portion of the penal code.

Buddhism no doubt early assumed some features of a social reform: it protected the subject by the doctrine of the merit of benevolence, and the sacredness of life and limb; it dispensed with the priest and the sacrifice, and all the oppressive costliness of worship; and it removed the worst features in the distinction of caste by opening the way of salvation, and the means of knowledge, to all castes alike. But Buddhism, like Christianity, was never revolutionary; it mitigated the evils of despotism and the condition of the slave by a gradual softening of the spirits of men; but it affirmed no "doctrines of 1789," preached no political equality, and recognized the social order which it found. In spite of the long domination of Buddhism, it never succeeded in abolishing caste, which was even introduced under its sway into Ceylon; and there is no greater error than to represent it as a Turanian revolt against Aryan supremacy. It was in its origin a purely spiritual influence, and its explanation must be sought in the spiritual rather than the social history of the time.

We have seen that the whole domain of public worship was in the hands of the Brâhmins, and that the absence of a written literature confined religious knowledge to a select class of graduates. But man, whatever his class or profession, must have views about the unseen world. The priests taught the young Hindu but little, only enough to convince him of their own importance, and of the necessity of duly carrying out the prescribed ordinances, and liberally remunerating the Brâhmins who performed them. The secrets of religion were not for him. But before he had come into contact with priests, he had learned enduring lessons concerning the world of spirits from

his mother and nurse, and from his father's herdmen. Hence, while the faith of the priests grew and changed within their pale, outside it father still handed down to son traditions which, with the addition of a few fancies learnt from the aborigines, were identical with those which were taught by the earliest Vedic singers on the other side of the Saraswati to the primeval Aryan cowherds, ere yet priest and noble had differentiated themselves as distinct classes from the Vaisya or householder. Indra,\* the god of the cloudy sky, was still the popular deity, ruler of heaven and earth, entreated for help in sickness and distress; with him were Varuna and Agni and other elemental deities, and under him were armies of inferior spirits. The names and characters of some of these, as the Asuras or Titans and the Gandharvas or Centaurs, form a part of the common stock of the Aryan race; others belong to Turanian tradition, everywhere rich in ghosts and demons. Hence ogres, fairies, vampires, filled a large space in the mind, and hence, too, came the strange belief in Nāgas, or serpents which had the power of assuming the human form. In after times this belief, very prevalent in Kashmir, was propagated as a distinct worship, in subordination, probably, to Buddhism, to whose founder the seven-headed Nāga-god does honour on the bas-reliefs at Amrawati,† but at the time of which we speak it was no religion, but a popular tradition among all classes. Every stranger might be a serpent in disguise. Buddhist monks are warned not to admit such beings to the privileges of their order; and notes are given them by which an illusory monastery of serpent-monks may be distinguished from a real one.‡

So much for the popular side of religion; we have now to note that the Brâhman literature bears witness to a development of religious ideas among the priests which was strictly esoteric, and so far as can be judged, awakened no parallel

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\* Burnouf (*Intr.* i. 131-2) sketches the popular Hindu theology as pictured in the earliest literature of the Buddhists, and therefore prevalent at least up to the time of Asoka.

† Only to a post-Buddhistic period can we trace the foundation of Nagpur, the serpent city, and the sculptures of the Amrawati tope. Mr. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, Vol. II., and in a paper in the *Journal R. A. S.* for 1867 (to which we may safely add his new book on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, which has not reached us) has thrown much light on this subject, but we greatly want an elaborate analysis of all the references to it in eastern and patristic literature.

‡ Csoma in *As. Res.* xx, 55.

development of popular consciousness. Hierarchies are ordinarily conservative ; but their conservatism is the conscious or unconscious result of an endeavour to maintain their own privileges by maintaining the dogmas on which those privileges originally rested. They have in that case an interest in keeping the creeds intact. But if they deemed their position as mediators between the world and God sufficiently secure, if it rested, as in early Hindu times it seemed to rest, not so much on the popular acceptance of the dogmatic basis of the priestly power, as upon that differentiation of functions which the narrow but intense Hindu intellect demanded, they would have no interest in restricting speculation to the limits of their earliest creeds. The individual Hindu possesses no versatility of character ; if he develops one function, it is at the expense of others. In many countries, and in many stages of society, the artisan and the ploughman are at home in the use of arms ; when need comes, they can defend themselves against a foe. In India the professional fighter alone can fight, and hence the first dawn of Indian history sees the defence of society entrusted to standing armies. In the same way the religious function early fell into the hands of a guild ; the performance of priestly duties, and the right of speculation, were contentedly delegated by the public, each of whom had enough in his business to occupy his whole mind, to the members of the priestly class. On this acquiescence the priests depended, perhaps too boldly for their interests ; for, after all, the non-Brāhmanic population could not be absolutely restrained from speculation on the way of salvation ; and when the work of the warriors was mainly done, and the wild tribes conquered or driven away, the thoughts of some would naturally turn to religious topics, and they would use the latest conclusions of Brāhman speculation in a manner which the Brāhmins had never anticipated. Opinions which in the schools were harmless, became heresy in the mouth of a soldier or landholder, especially if they induced him to withhold his dues, or to drive the begging priest from his door. But for the long period which elapsed between the establishment of the clerical order and the appearance of Sākyamuni,—the period of struggle, conquest and settlement,—no voice of doubt or denial from without broke the happy repose of the priesthood, and secure as they seemed in popular attachment or popular carelessness, they took no measures to restrict the spirit of speculation among themselves.

The Brâhmanas had no test of orthodoxy, no supreme judge who could distinguish and decide whether an opinion was right or wrong. A man was born a Brâhman; and possessed by birth the privilege, not of thinking in a particular way, which would be no privilege, but of thinking at all. Hence no opinion held by a Brâhman could be wrong; or, which is the same thing, there was no power capable of deciding it to be so. General *consensus*, of course, exercised a control. An absurd opinion, one that did not logically fit in with the conclusions of the hearers, would starve out for very want of vitality. The teacher spoke to men who were as well educated as himself; they had gone through the curriculum of study; they knew the Vedas, or the one Veda to which they had attached themselves, by heart, with all its comments and appendices; an opinion to be accepted by such pupils, must have a certain amount of logical congruity; it must be shown to be continuous with their previous stock of thought; it must suit the opinions to which they had already arrived. There may have been at any moment innumerable Brâhman teachers holding eccentric and irreconcilable views; but their influence could never have been extensive or lasting, and, with an exception which will require special notice, the development of Brâhman thought in these early ages continued in a straight line.

This is not the place to trace that development, which has great interest for the student of Sanscrit literature, but exercised little influence on the popular mind. A mere enumeration of the conclusions reached from time to time will suffice. The consideration of the power of prayer and sacrifice, compelling the gods to compliance, begot the conception of prayer and sacrifice as a force superior to the gods,—an impersonal force, to which they gave the neuter name of Brahman. Next, proceeding in another direction, they sought to personify the aggregate of force in the universe. Gods, men, animals, inanimate things, move in their several ways; there must be some one source of power, originating and controlling all this action. Man is conscious of such a power within himself, the source of all he thinks or does, and calls it Soul or Self; applying this conception to the universe, we reach the idea of a universal Soul, of which all action, all thought, is but the result and manifestation. Next comes the fusion of the two conceptions. Regarding Brahman, the force of prayer, (*religio*, or that which binds the gods to men through the priest) as the highest energy of the universal Soul, for it can subordinate, as they thought, every power in

nature to itself ; they gave that Soul the masculine name of the personal Brahmâ. As speculation advances, Brahmâ is not merely the highest God ; he is the whole life of men and gods, the Power which moves through creation. Every existence is but a portion of Himself, thrown out from the central energy ; and the further it wanders from that source, the more is it tainted with evil. Evil is want of power, deadness ; that which has in itself least energy, namely, inert matter, is the furthest removed from God ; and man tied to a body, can only look with hope to the time when, freed by dissolution from its material burden, his spirit, pure force, can fly to rejoin the Fountain of all force, and be re-united to Brahmâ.

There exists no creed but has been the starting-place for contemplative spirits who have attained to this point of view ; its favourite expressions are familiar to us in the highest-toned religious literature of all times and countries ; but it has nowhere been so definitely formulated as among the Brâhmins. Personal piety might pause, satisfied with the ravishing vision of future union with the object of its adoration thus opened to the yearning soul ; the eager questioning of the speculative intellect pressed further. What, then, is this external world which separates us from God ? If all force is of Him, what is this centrifugal force which seems to draw us from Him ? That the world was evil was abundantly clear, for all the evil they could conceive of was caused by material things, or by the desire of material things, or by the soul's union with a material body ; and being evil, it could not be, like the soul, an emanation from the Divine Substance. Yet to give it any other cause would be to create a force in the universe apart from God. The answer to this was that the external world was a mere jugglery of the senses, and did not exist. God, for His own good purpose (for there was no attempt to explain final causes), had detached portions of His substance, the souls of men, which were, like Himself, capable of all perception, but, unlike Himself, were subjected to the condition of perceiving things which had no real existence, and were liable to be led away into the belief of the truth of what their senses told them. Till death men must remain conscious of sensuous perceptions ; but the knowledge of the truth had power to free them from all dependence on such perceptions. What was this world to one who had once learned to believe in no real existence except that of soul ? Only a vain show which disquieted not. Are you in bondage to material things,—a slave to desire, and hate, and the sense of pain ? Know the truth, that these things are not,

that they are created by your own imagination, and the truth shall make you free. You are still a separated atom of the Godhead, yearning for its natural home, but you participate in God's own insight, and in knowledge, as well as in will, you are one with Him.

Thus a philosophy, which in all ages has been the refuge of individual thinkers,—a philosophy based not on scepticism, but on absolute denial of all things visible or conceivable, except the conscious *ego*, and the Divine Substance of which that *ego* forms a part, became, as it continues, the prevailing doctrine of the thinking class in India. It was absolutely orthodox, for it was the crowning point of an edifice of reasoning firmly based on Holy Writ; but it contained the seeds of the most revolutionary teaching. If the knowledge of the emptiness of things be the one thing needful for man, why all this costly and oppressive apparatus of ritual—the daily sacrifice, and the yearly feast? If we are all of one substance, and that the Divine Substance, what becomes of the essential distinction of caste? So long as this creed was worked out by a few contemplative souls, the quietism which it favoured was an effectual bar to revolutionary projects. The man in earnest would dismiss all these outward questions from his mind, and think only of his soul and of his God. It is not to an Epictetus that we look for the fiery leader of the slave's revolt against slavery. If too, as we have reason to believe, these doctrines formed commonplaces of Brâhmanic education, the natural conservatism of a privileged class would furnish their antidote. When fully believed, they were harmless; when only half-believed, they had not strength to call forth a protest against established theories, which, even if erroneous, were so profitable as these of priestly supremacy and the necessity of ritual. But let this teaching spread beyond the pale, let the base-born and the priest-ridden once learn that, as doctors of the Church maintained on the authority of Scripture, the priestly rank, the distinctions of caste, the duties of religion, the Scripture itself, were but part of that wide-spread Delusion, which embraces all phenomenal existence, and none could venture to predict what would ensue. By a wise instinct did later ages call the founder of the Buddhistic reform son of Mâyâ, the offspring of the Doctrine of Delusion.

A belief opposed to the evidence of the senses is not natural to men, and the common sense of persons much concerned with the world, who have no leisure for connected thought, instinctively rejects it. It finds scarcely more favour with the harder and more intellectual class of thinkers, who decline to rest their

judgment on a vague sentiment of longing which they cannot distinguish from mere fancy, and whose attention has been especially attracted by the consistency and coherence of phenomena. The Nature which is subject to definite laws, which can be analysed and experimented upon, can be no mere play of groundless imagination, or pure subjective phantasmagoria. The opposition of materialist to metaphysician, of naturalist to idealist, could not but make itself known in India, though the imaginative view was there more sure of popular sympathy, and in fact sunk deep into the heart of a nation given beyond all others to dreamy speculation, and strange to the energetic effort which the true contemplation of Nature requires. The affluence of miracle—especially miraculous *exhibition*—which marks all Buddhist legend, could only have found favour among a people who held all external nature to be a mere combination of impressions, to which no external reality corresponded, superinduced by the arbitrary act of a higher Power: by a mere slip of the slides, extraordinary impressions would take the place of ordinary ones. But there were Indian thinkers upon whom the reality of nature had made an impression that could not be shaken. The Sāṅkhya doctrine is distinct in its assertion of the objective reality of things. It postulates the soul and nature as the two substances, of whose existence we can be absolutely certain; we *are*, because we feel: external nature *is*, because we are conscious that it is. It is independent of the soul; we cannot add to, or alter it; so far as the mind of man is concerned, nature is uncreated and indestructible. What right then have we to assume that any higher spirit, if such exists, a soul like our own but vaster and more powerful, can do on a grand scale what in our limited way we cannot do at all? Is there any creation or destruction? When man dies, his body dissolves into its kindred earth, it does not vanish. Nature is an ever-fertile energy, evolving itself in a thousand ways; but intellect cannot affect it, and therefore did not produce it. Gods there might be,—souls clad in a finer nature than ours, and less dependent on external things; but a Supreme God, Creator of the Universe, was never recognised in this philosophy.

That this doctrine of the self-evolution of the universe, which tradition ascribes to a mythic sage called Kapila, was taught in the schools before the time of Śākyamuni, seems sufficiently probable; but its influence on Buddhism has been antedated. The rising Buddhism drew its nutriment not so much from the schools as from popular ideas; its business was to preach righteousness, not to expound the law of creation: when



the time came for it to build up a philosophic doctrine, it made use of this and other philosophies; but in its commencement it derived nothing from the Brâhman ontologies, which had not already become a public possession. We are prone to forget that a religion in its systematic form is the product of ages, that under its first teachers it merely shoots in one or the other direction, leaving its full development for the aftertime. Essentials come first, the immediate and most momentous points of faith and practice; then, as men's curiosity is stirred to learn more of the unseen world, the creed is gradually rounded and filled up. Moreover, men do not suddenly and without preparation give up a definite belief. If ever Buddhism as a Church learned to dispense with the belief in a Creator, it was by a gradual process; the cognizable or conceivable links in the chain of causation were found sufficient to stimulate moral energy without the attention being specially drawn to a First Cause; and the denial of a Creative Will as the First Cause was the tentative suggestion of a metaphysical school, never a ruling article of the Church's faith. We have little evidence of what Sâkyamuni actually taught, but we have ample reason to doubt that he pressed upon the Hindu world a naked, repulsive dogma, which could only have startled his hearers away from his teaching. The ordinary Hindu had, perhaps, very vague notions of what is meant by creation; he undoubtedly did not conceive of God as forming and fashioning the world as a potter makes a pot; he had learnt to doubt whether the world, as an objective reality, did actually exist; but he conceived it, whether a reality or a mere impression on the brain, as emanating in some way from God; whatever might be the links of the chain, God held the end of it; and if told of a universe without God, he would listen vaguely, without attaching any vestige of meaning to the words.

We have shown under what external conditions Buddhism took its rise; we have traced the development of Hindu thought up to the time of Sâkyamuni; we have shown what were the ideas that crept like fire along a slow match till they reached the outer air, and Buddhism was the explosion. The distinctive doctrines of Buddhist metaphysic, especially those of fate, of grace, of merit, of transmigration, and of Nirvâna, we have not touched; and to analyze their parentage, and exhibit their working, to paint the Buddhist moral ideal, to describe the external features of the religion, so far as our materials allow us, to display its influence on the arts and on social life, and to sketch its final phases of degradation and corruption, will occupy us, we trust, in several future papers.

## ART. VI.—THE DEATH OF JAHANGIR, HIS CHARACTER, AND THE ACCESSION OF SHAHJAHAN.

1. *Tuzuk i Jahángírl* (Memoirs of Jahángír), edited in Persian, by Sayyid Ahmad. Allypurrh, 1864.
2. *Iqbálnámah i Jahángírl*, in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1865.
3. *Pádisháhnámah*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1868.
4. *Elphinstone's History of India*, second edition, pages 573 to 575.

### *Jahángír's Death.*

ON Sunday, the third of Rajab, 1036 \*A. H. (11th March 1627), Jahángír celebrated the New Year's Day feast, the twenty-second since his accession. From the time of Akbar, who, with his new era, had introduced the calendar of the Pársís, the *Naurúz*, or New Year's Day, had been the greatest annual festival at the Agrah Court. But on this occasion the arrangements were hurried, and the feast was gloomy; for the monarch was sick and worn out. He had just reached the Chanáb, on his way to Kashmír, whither he was going to avoid the hot winds of the plains. But the journey fatigued Jahángír more than he desired. He had scarcely reached Kashmír when his health grew worse. The fresh air of the hills infused no new vigour into the shattered constitution of the Emperor. He despaired of life, and his fears of approaching death caused his attendants much alarm. He lost all appetite, and even took a dislike to opium, in which he had indulged for the last forty years. A few glasses of wine were all he cared for now.

The Emperor was accompanied by Núr Jahán, Prince Shahr-yár, his fifth son, and Prince Dáwar Bakhsh, second son of the unfortunate Khusrau. Of Jahángír's five sons, only two were alive at that time—Sháhjahán, who was in open rebellion, and Shahryár, whom Núr Jahán had determined upon as the successor to the throne, partly because her daughter \* by Sher Afkan was married to him, and partly because she believed that he, from want of ability and unfitness for the position, would as readily submit to her tutoring as Jahángír, her husband. The

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\* Her name was *Mikrunnisá*, which name Núr Jahán had at first borne herself.

incapacity of Shahryár was, in fact, so notorious, that people had given him the nickname of *Náshudant*, or fit-for-nothing. Unfortunately for the plans of Núr Jahán, Shahryár fell ill. Though scarcely twenty-three years of age, he lost the hair of his head, eyebrows, eyelids and beard; and, ashamed to present himself in this state before the Emperor, he asked, and obtained, Jahángír's permission to return to Lahor, where he placed himself in the hands of a physician. Dáwar Bakhsh, whom Shahryár, at the instigation of Núr Jahán, had kept closely watched, was handed over to Irádat Khán, one of Jahángír's grantees, on whom Núr Jahán could rely.

When the cold season approached, Jahángír gave orders to return to Lahor. His old passion for hunting occasionally overcame his debility; and when the Imperial camp was pitched at Bairamkallah, an old favourite hunting-ground of the Emperor's in Kashmír, he determined once more, even if it should be the last time, to hunt the black deer. The Zamíndárs of the place, according to custom, furnished a number of drivers. The Emperor took his stand, as he had done at every former visit to Kashmír, in a little house at the foot of a steep precipice. The drivers were on the top of the mountain, and used to drive the deer towards the edge of the head-land, when the opportunity was taken to shoot at them, and thus they came tumbling over to the feet of the Emperor. Accident would have it that on that day one of the drivers approached the edge of the precipice, when the piece of rock on which he stood suddenly gave way. The mangled corpse of the unfortunate man rolled up to the very door of the hut where Jahángír stood. This accident made an unusually deep impression upon the mind of the Emperor, excitable and nervous as he was. He gave immediate orders to return to the camp, where he called for the mother of the dead driver, whose tears he in vain tried to assuage with money. But his mind found no rest. The ghastly face of the deceased was for ever before him, and the idea haunted him that the whole accident was but a vision, and that the angel of death had taken the form of the dead man, in order to frighten him into despair. "From that hour," says the historian, "Jahángír's health visibly declined." As if guilty of something, the Emperor hurried from the scene of the accident to Tahnah, and from Tahnah to Rájor. On the road, he asked for a glass of wine, but he turned away in disgust when he put it near his lips. Towards night, the attacks of asthma became more

frequent and violent, and the fear of the physicians that it would be the last night was well-grounded. The sun of the next morning had scarcely risen, "when the soul of the Emperor, phoenix-like, left the earth her nest, and soared up to the mansions of eternity." Jahángír died about breakfast time, on Sunday the 28th Safar, 1037 A. H. (28th October 1627), at the age of 58 (solar) years, 1 month, and 29 days. In the evening, a short halt was made at Naushahrá, and on Monday, the camp, after entering the plains, was pitched at Bhambar, where the corpse of the Emperor was handed over to Maqqúd Khán, who, accompanied by several grandees, took it to Lahor. Maqqúd arrived there on the following Friday, "and the corpse was placed in the garden which had been made by the order of Núr Jahán."

• *Jahángír's Character.*

The historian finds no difficulty in reading Jahángír's character. Its main features are fickleness and sublime indifference to everything which had no immediate reference to him personally. In his "Memoirs," almost on every page, he has painted himself as a man of no settled opinions. Some of his acts resemble rather the childish doings of kings in nursery tales than the deeds which we expect to find in the successor of Akbar. Jahángír submitted to any strong and determined mind with which he came in contact. Núr Jahán found him obedient and willing to submit implicitly to her guidance, though she, perhaps, deserves admiration for the skill which she displayed in humouring her husband into the belief that he was free and master of his acts and inclinations.

Nor was Jahángír a man of moral principles. He often allowed short-lived outbreaks of anger to sully the natural kindness and benevolence of his heart; and he would occasionally commit cruelties which, when considered by themselves, would assign him a conspicuous place among the monsters who, from time to time, in royal garb, have trod the earth. But the cruelties of kings of past times, both in the East and the West, among Muslims and in Christendom, are after all far less remarkable than the fact of their having always found ready and willing instruments to carry their atrocious orders into effect.

But notwithstanding occasional outbreaks of inhumanity, Jahángír's kindness of feeling and natural benevolence were so marked, that they induced Sir T. Roe to mention them as the principal features of his character. The attachment

incapacity of Shahryár was, in fact, so notorious, that people had given him the nickname of *Náshudaní*, or fit-for-nothing. Unfortunately for the plans of Núr Jahán, Shahryár fell ill. Though scarcely twenty-three years of age, he lost the hair of his head, eyebrows, eyelids and beard; and, ashamed to present himself in this state before the Emperor, he asked, and obtained, Jahángír's permission to return to Lahor, where he placed himself in the hands of a physician. Dáwar Bakhsh, whom Shahryár, at the instigation of Núr Jahán, had kept closely watched, was handed over to Irádat Khán, one of Jahángír's grantees, on whom Núr Jahán could rely.

When the cold season approached, Jahángír gave orders to return to Lahor. His old passion for hunting occasionally overcame his debility; and when the Imperial camp was pitched at Bairamkallah, an old favourite hunting-ground of the Emperor's in Kashmír, he determined once more, even if it should be the last time, to hunt the black deer. The Zamíndárs of the place, according to custom, furnished a number of drivers. The Emperor took his stand, as he had done at every former visit to Kashmír, in a little house at the foot of a steep precipice. The drivers were on the top of the mountain, and used to drive the deer towards the edge of the head-land, when the opportunity was taken to shoot at them, and thus they came tumbling over to the feet of the Emperor. Accident would have it that on that day one of the drivers approached the edge of the precipice, when the piece of rock on which he stood suddenly gave way. The mangled corpse of the unfortunate man rolled up to the very door of the hut where Jahángír stood. This accident made an unusually deep impression upon the mind of the Emperor, excitable and nervous as he was. He gave immediate orders to return to the camp, where he called for the mother of the dead driver, whose tears he in vain tried to assuage with money. But his mind found no rest. The ghastly face of the deceased was for ever before him, and the idea haunted him that the whole accident was but a vision, and that the angel of death had taken the form of the dead man, in order to frighten him into despair. "From that hour," says the historian, "Jahángír's health visibly declined." As if guilty of something, the Emperor hurried from the scene of the accident to Tahnah, and from Tahnah to Rájor. On the road, he asked for a glass of wine, but he turned away in disgust when he put it near his lips. Towards night, the attacks of asthma became more

frequent and violent, and the fear of the physicians that it would be the last night was well-grounded. The sun of the next morning had scarcely risen, "when the soul of the Emperor, phoenix-like, left the earth her nest, and soared up to the mansions of eternity." Jahángír died about breakfast time, on Sunday the 28th Safar, 1037 A. H. (28th October 1627), at the age of 58 (solar) years, 1 month, and 29 days. In the evening, a short halt was made at Naushahrah, and on Monday, the camp, after entering the plains, was pitched at Bhambar, where the corpse of the Emperor was handed over to Maqqúd Khán, who, accompanied by several grandees, took it to Lahor. Maqqúd arrived there on the following Friday, "and the corpse was placed in the garden which had been made by the order of Núr Jahán."

• *Jahángír's Character.*

The historian finds no difficulty in reading Jahángír's character. Its main features are fickleness and sublime indifference to everything which had no immediate reference to him personally. In his "Memoirs," almost on every page, he has painted himself as a man of no settled opinions. Some of his acts resemble rather the childish doings of kings in nursery tales than the deeds which we expect to find in the successor of Akbar. Jahángír submitted to any strong and determined mind with which he came in contact. Núr Jahán found him obedient and willing to submit implicitly to her guidance, though she, perhaps, deserves admiration for the skill which she displayed in humouring her husband into the belief that he was free and master of his acts and inclinations.

Nor was Jahángír a man of moral principles. He often allowed short-lived outbreaks of anger to sully the natural kindness and benevolence of his heart; and he would occasionally commit cruelties which, when considered by themselves, would assign him a conspicuous place among the monsters who, from time to time, in royal garb, have trod the earth. But the cruelties of kings of past times, both in the East and the West, among Muslims and in Christendom, are after all far less remarkable than the fact of their having always found ready and willing instruments to carry their atrocious orders into effect.

But notwithstanding occasional outbreaks of inhumanity, Jahángír's kindness of feeling and natural benevolence were so marked, that they induced Sir T. Roe to mention them as the principal features of his character. The attachment

which Akbar had uniformly shown to old servants also distinguished Jahāngīr; and his treatment of Khusrau, Mán Singh, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokab, of whom the last especially had given him much cause of dissatisfaction, cannot be otherwise characterized than lenient. The consideration which Jahāngīr showed them, contrasts very favourably with the cruelty and perfidiousness displayed by Sháhjahán, a short time before his accession, even towards his nearest relatives. But yet Jahāngīr's benevolence was not the result of conviction or principle. It never appears to have struck him what immense power for doing good was concentrated in him. His objects were never elevated and pure; and the admixture of selfishness and indifference, and the petty frivolity with which in his "Memoirs" he wilfully tarnishes the record of his better feelings, and of actions praiseworthy in themselves, render him almost despicable in our eyes. Even when he gave alms, he gave it more on his own account than for the relief of others. Thus he says in his "Memoirs"\* (*Tuzuk*, p. 229)—"At the time of departure I ordered the mace-bearers "to go into the villages through which I had to pass, and call "the destitute and the widows, and bring them to me, as I "wished to distribute the alms with my own hands. My reason "for doing so was to have something to do. Besides, to confer "favours on the helpless is a very good occupation." In other places, again, when describing the ceremony of weighing the Royal person on his anniversary, Jahāngīr lays particular stress on the object of the ceremony. In conformity with an old Hindu custom which Akbar had introduced in his Hinduizing court, he was weighed against gold, silver, and other articles. These articles Jahāngīr gave to the poor, or to the women of the Harem, as a sort of annual black-mail due to them; for if the poor sent evil wishes up to heaven, their imprecations, it was devoutly believed, would surely cause his Majesty in the course of the year to meet with some bodily harm.

Jahāngīr's vows exhibit the same mixture of childishness and selfish benevolence. "It was at this time (during 1027 A.H., "or A.D. 1618) that Sháhzádah Shujá', son of Sháhjahán, fell ill, "and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could "not cure him of the insensibility in which he had lain for several

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\* It is noticeable that nowhere in his "Memoirs" does Jahāngīr allude to the presence at Court of Sir T. Roe, who, to judge from the account of his treatment and reception was nevertheless much honoured. The arrivals of Persian and Turani ambassadors are most carefully noted in the *Tuzuk*.

“ days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked him a favor. During the prayer it occurred to me that I had already made a contract with my God, and had promised Him to give up hunting after reaching the age of fifty, not to touch after that a bow or a gun, and never again to slay an animal with my own hands ; and I thought that if I should from now carry my former vow into effect—which would certainly prevent many animals from being killed—God would grant my prayer for the recovery of the prince. I then made this contract with God, and promised, in all singleness of intention and true belief, never again to harm an animal with my own hand. Through God’s mercy, the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed.”

The *naiveté* of the vow consists in this, that Jahángír had reached the age of fifty (lunar) years ; but in as far as the “contract” did not state the exact date from which the vow was to take effect, he might have meant fifty *solar* years. The vow was never carried out.

Jahángír was not insensible to the beauties of Nature. The love for gardens and flowers which, according to a statement by Abulfazl, Bábar had brought to India, was remarkably strong in Jahángír. Many passages in his “Memoirs” take the reader agreeably by surprise. Jahángír would often stop his suite to have a flower brought to him, which he minutely examines and describes. He finds words to delineate the calm beauty of the Indian lake, and to depict the grandeur of the scenery of the Himalaya. He records every natural phenomenon which came under his observation ; he examines into the anatomical structure of animals, and everything that was curious was sure to attract his attention. The newswriters, or *Wáqí’ahnawís*—an institution of Akbar’s—had ever to be in readiness to supply information, and the *Tuzuk*, which name Jahángír, in imitation of the title of Timur’s *Tuzuk*, gave his “Memoirs,” abounds with notes on the history of places, the revenue of provinces, the condition of the Hindus, the small talk of towns, and curiosities of Natural History, such as are seldom to be found in books written by kings, or composed by Muhammadans. We would strongly recommend it to the officers, who are now engaged in preparing the several local gazetteers, especially as the style of the “Memoirs” surpasses, in easiness and in the absence of obscure phrases and sentences, every other book in the whole range of Persian Literature,—a circumstance which, to a certain extent, makes up for the want of a translation. The excellence of the style of Jahángír’s “Memoirs” is to a great extent due to the revision by Muhammad



Sharíf Mu'tamid Khán, one of Jahángír's grantees; but this is a question which we trust we shall have leisure to discuss at another opportunity.

Jahángír was fond of lyric poetry, and has left us a few verses as proofs of his *tab' i mauzúni*, or natural talent for poetical compositions. He is vain enough to praise his poetical gift, though his verses are few and far between. His handwriting, to use an Indian term, looked *kucha*; but his style is easy and flowing. In power of composition, however, he stands far behind his great grandfather, Bábar, whose manly character differs as much from that of Jahángír as the conqueror of a throne differs from Núr Jahán's puppet. Nor did Jahángír possess the critical acumen of Bábar, whose "Memoirs" give us a complete view of the literary activity of the beginning of the tenth century of the Hijrah. Bábar even found time to write a treatise on Persian Prosody in the intervals of peace, which he so rarely enjoyed. Jahángír was no reader; he does not even once mention the name of a favourite author, or the title of a book which he had read out to him. Akbar, whom Jahángír in his "Memoirs" calls *ummi* or uneducated, read much, though the number of his favourite books was limited; but he hated lyric poetry and poets, preferring the epic poems of the old Persian writers, and especially valuing the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana.\*

In his amusements Jahángír was immoderate. "He passed his reign," says the historian Kháfí Khán, "in pleasure and amusement." He was as passionately fond of hunting as he was of drinking. Of his hunting-exploits Jahángír gives in his "Memoirs" the following particulars (p. 182):—"I was anxious to ascertain the number of animals which I had killed, and I ordered the newswriters, the clerks of the Hunting Department and the drivers, to send me reports of the different kinds of animals shot by me during my hunting expeditions. This was done; and it was found that from 988 A.H., when I was twelve years old, up to the present year [1027 A. H.], which is the fiftieth (lunar) year of my age, the total number of animals

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\* The *Atashkadah*, a well-known work on Persian poetry, quotes a few verses composed by Akbar. The following lines contain a satire against the (metaphorical) wine drinking of the Súfis:—

"Last night I went to the wineshop,  
For a measure of wine I paid;  
Next morning my head was aching,  
I had paid for the pain in my head."

killed during my hunting parties amounted to 28,532. Of this number, I have myself killed 17,167 with guns and other weapons, viz.—

Tigers	...	...	86
Bears, leopards, foxes, otters, hyænas,	...	...	889
Large stags ( <i>mahá</i> )	...	...	35
Black deer, chikáras, spotted deer ( <i>chítals</i> ), wild goats, &c.	...	...	1,670
Nílgaos	...	...	9
<i>Quj</i> goats, red deer	...	...	215
Wolves	...	...	64
Wild buffaloes	...	...	36
Boars	...	...	90
Zangs (?)	...	...	26
Wild <i>quj</i> goats	...	...	22
Arghalís ( <i>Ovis Argali</i> )	...	...	32
Wild asses	...	...	6
Hares	...	...	23
Total No. of quadrupeds killed by me	—	—	3,203

Pigeons	...	...	10,348
<i>Lagars</i> (a kind of falcon), &c.	...	...	3
Vultures	...	...	2
Qulíwáj, chughds, qútán, mushjúzes	...	...	79
Sparrows	...	...	41
Wood pigeons	...	...	25
Owls	...	...	30
Waterfowl	...	...	150
Crows	...	...	3,276
Total No. of birds killed by me	—	—	13,954

Alligators	...	...	10
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Grand total of animals killed by me ... 17,167."

He never hunted elpehants, nor did he care for hunting waterfowl.

Jahángír's drinking assemblies have been graphically described by Roe, from whose accounts Elphinstone (p. 559) has given a few extracts. But let us hear what Jahángír himself says of his capacity for drinking. (Memoirs, p. 150).

"To-day Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) was weighed. He is now twenty-four years old, is married, and has children, and

yct he has never even touched a glass of wine. Hence I said to him :—‘Bábé, you have now children, and other kings and princes drink wine. To-day is your anniversary, and I shall give you some wine to drink. I also permit you to drink on all feast-days, on New Year’s day, and on assembly-days. Only drink moderately, so as not to lose your senses. Wise men have always approved of the use of wine, especially when a man has an object in drinking wine. Avicenna, who certainly belongs to the great physicians, has the following quatrain :—

Wine is the foe of the drunkard, and the friend of the sober man ;  
A little of it is an elixir ; much of it is viprine poison.  
Much of it does no little harm ;  
A little of it is of no small benefit.

Khurram was forced to take a great deal of wine.”

“I myself commenced wine-drinking when I was fifteen years old, though on two or three occasions, during my childhood, my mother and my nurses asked my father for *arac* under the pretext that it was required as medicine for other children. But what they gave me to drink was only about a *tolah* of *arac*, and even that was mixed with rosewater, and it was distinctly given to me as a medicine for my cough. When I was about fifteen, I happened to be at Atak (Attock) in the camp of my father. It was just the time of the war with the Yúsuf-zais. One day I had been out hunting, and returned home tired and drowsy, when Ustád Sháh Qulí,—an excellent marksman, who had been chief armourer to my uncle Mírzá Muhammad Hakím (Akbar’s brother)—came up to me and suggested that a glass of wine would drive away my languor. Young as I was, I at once agreed to commit myself, and told Mahmúd, my servant in charge of the water, to go to the house of Hakím ‘Alí, and fetch an intoxicating draught. The Hakím sent a bottle containing about one and a half glasses (*piyálah*) of sweet white wine. I rather enjoyed the happy excitement which it produced. Soon after I commenced regularly to drink wine, increasing my daily quantum till I got tired of wine and took to *arac*. During the following nine years I gradually increased my daily quantum to twenty glasses of *arac*, of which I drank fourteen during the day and the rest at night. Twenty glasses make six Hindustani *sers*, or one and a half Persian *mans*. The solid food I then took generally consisted of a roast fowl, bread, and turnips. None would have dared to forbid me to drink. By and by, my hands commenced to shake, so much so that I could no longer lift up the cup, but had to get others to give me to drink. It was

fortunate that Fat'hlast consulted Hakím Humám, a brother of Hakím, Abulfath, who was a personal friend of my late father. I told him in what state I was. Frankly and, as I could see, with much concern, he said to me:—'Prince, if you go on for six months longer drinking arac in such dreadful quantities, it will be impossible—which God forbid—to save you.' I saw he was in earnest; and as I had no mind to die, I obeyed him and lessened my daily quantum, mixing *fulúniá* (opium and hemp) with it, and increasing the dose of the latter in proportion as I decreased the arac. I then mixed my arac with wine, taking two parts of the latter to one of the former, and went on decreasing the liquor till, after seven years, I had come as low as six *piyálahs*, each *piyálah* containing  $18\frac{1}{2}$  *misqáls*. It is now fifteen years since I limited myself to this *modicum*, neither increasing nor decreasing it. I only drink at night. But on Thursdays I drink my usual quantity towards evening; for Thursday is the day of my *julús* (accession), and besides, Thursday evening is looked upon as a time of grace, because it is the eve of our Friday,—a season which I do not like to pass in light-mindedness, but in grateful remembrance of God's mercies, and in prayers for forgiveness of my sins. I also abstain from meat on Thursdays and Sundays, because the former day is the day of my *julús*, and the latter is the day on which my august father was born. This is also the reason why my father attached so much importance to Sundays.

"After some time I substituted pure opium for *fulúniá*. My age at present is forty-six (solar) years and four months, and I take eight *ratís* of opium about an hour and a half after daybreak, and six *ratís* about nine o'clock at night."

Jahángír, if in nothing else, certainly did surpass his predecessors in his capacity for drinking; and after reading the above extract, one might be doubtful whether to admire more Jahángír's constitution, or the sublime *nonchalance* with which he relates his progress in the art of drinking. With him wine-drinking was evidently one of the privileges of a king, though family reminiscences should have reminded him of the folly of this vice. Bábar was likewise a hard drinker; but the allusions to drinking which occur in his "Memoirs" read more like sorrowful confessions, and represent drinking as an abomination. Humáyún had been a confirmed opium-eater, and Akbar both drank wine and took opium, though moderately, especially during the latter half of his reign. Akbar's brother, Mírzá 'Abdul Hakím, however, died of

*delirium tremens*, and so did Prince Murád and Prince Dányál, Akbar's younger sons. Prince Parwíz also, Jahāngír's second son, succumbed a few months before the demise of his father, to the effects of habitual drunkenness, and thus allowed Sháhjahán more easily to take possession of the vacant throne than he otherwise would have done. But though Jahāngír in his "Memoirs" records the death from drinking of four of his nearest relations, and that of many other drunkards, he took no pains to conquer his own besetting sin.

The Emperor himself and the princes setting such an example, it was no wonder that many courtiers, both Hindus and Muhammadans, were openly given to drinking. Sir Thomas Roe says that during the social meetings scarcely one remained sober. Like Jahāngír himself, the grandees dropped off asleep, and when the Court was snoring, the lights were extinguished, and the guests, if unable to walk, were carried away by their attendants. Sometimes it happened that the Emperor for some unknown cause went off crying and sobbing. But woe to him who next day should allude to the revelries of the past night ! The people of Agrah might talk about them, and circulate the latest *on dits* which the news-writers betrayed, but at court the Emperor and every right-minded courtier affected total ignorance and innocence. Jahāngír liked to see his courtiers drink, and relates with a sort of pride scenes of general drunkenness. Thus he says in the "Memoirs" of the twelfth year of his reign (p. 190) :—"I gave orders to celebrate the *Shab i Barát* "in one of Núrjahán's villas, the gardens of which were surrounded by large tanks. The feast was arranged by Núrjahán herself, and I had invited all grandees and my personal friends. "I had also ordered the servants to let each guest drink as much wine or take as much of drugs as he liked. When the "feast commenced, I made such as drank wine sit down according to rank, and partake of the viands, and fruit which had "been laid out, to stimulate the appetite. It was a grand "gathering. When it was evening, the several buildings and "the sides of the tanks were all illuminated with lamps and "colored shades ; and though illuminations are common enough, "there has perhaps never been one like the present. Each "light you could see reflected in the tanks, and the surface of "each looked like a field in flames. The enjoyment was glorious, and those who drank wine, drank indeed more than they "could bear." In another passage, (p. 184) Jahāngír says :—"I gave orders to make arrangements for a 'drinking feast.'

"Most of those that were present took wine, and at last I made them all drunk."

Among Jahángír's courtiers the Rájas of Amber were most addicted to drinking. In chronicling the death of Rája Bháo Singh, Jahángír says (p. 338):—"The Rája was serving in the Dak'hin; excessive wine-drinking had completely ruined his constitution. He fell into a swoon from which even the strongest remedies applied by the doctors to the crown of his head could not rouse him. He continued so for about a day; and when, on the following morning, he died, his two wives and eight of his concubines burned themselves 'on the pile of faithfulness.' His elder brother Jagat Singh, and Mahá Singh, his nephew, had likewise paid with their lives for their drunken habits, but their fate was no lesson for Rája Bháo. He was much attached to me, even before my accession, and held the rank of a commander of five thousand. As he left no children, I conferred the title of Rája on the son of his elder brother, to whom I gave a brevet rank of a commander of two thousand, with an actual command of one thousand horse, and bestowed upon him the Parganah of Amber, their old family seat."

The end of 'Ináyat Khán, related by Jahángír on p. 247, is as sad. He had had three attacks of *delirium tremens*, and when, a few days before his death, he was brought in a palanquin before the Emperor, Jahángír stood perfectly aghast, and, doubting whether he had a human form before him, he ordered the court painters to take the likeness of the drunkard. Dismissing him with a present of two thousand rupees, he conjured him to think of God for the few days which might be left him.

There can be no doubt that the example of the court considerably influenced the lower classes of the people. The influence would show itself in the laxity of the Faujdárs and their subordinate officers, who had to try cases of riot and drunkenness, and in the indifference of the Municipal officers (*muhtasibs*), whose duty it was to see that no spirituous liquors were sold in the bazars. Nearly every Muhammadau ruler since the time of the Slave-kings thought fit to enforce the prohibition of the sale of wines by special command, chiefly with the view of gaining the confidence of the 'Ulamás, and the goodwill of the middle classes in general. Towards the end of the reign of each king, however, the law was practically abolished. If we except the reigns of a few strict kings, we

find that for centuries an amount of drunkenness prevailed among the higher and the lowest classes of both Hindus and Muhammadans, which no one would credit if we had not the contemporary testimony of native historians. The rigour which was occasionally shown in enforcing the prohibition of the sale of wine, which with Muhammadans is based upon the Divine law of the Koran, depended entirely upon the personal influence and character of the king. In the East, more than elsewhere, the example of the ruler is everything. It is a constitution in itself. If he once a week—a few pious kings did so twice—personally administered justice in the State-hall; if he banished the cup from the court, and the *būzah* (beer) from the bazar; and, if lastly he distributed alms with his own hands when going through the town seated on his elephant, and gave lands to the 'Ulamás and the lawyers, he was considered a good king, and he could safely entrust the spread of justice, peace and security, to the power of his example, *Alkhalā'iqū ala dīni mulūkīhim*—"as the king, so the nation." A few cases of summary and prompt punishment inflicted on wicked Qázis were only wanting to raise him in the eyes of the people to the position of a protecting hero, and his name would go down to posterity in the works of historians and poets, as rivaling the memory of Balban or Firúzsháh.

The views of the Emperor Akbar regarding the legality of the prohibition of wine differed from those of his predecessors. He believed that it was wrong to prohibit the sale of wine, because drunkenness *may* result from drinking wine; he did not see in wine an unmixed evil, and was ready to look upon it as something agreeable and wholesome. To the horror, therefore, of the 'Ulamás and every staunch Muhammadan, he allowed wine to be sold openly in the bazars, placing, however, certain restrictions upon the dealers and buyers. The former were licensed, and the latter had to certify that the wine they wished to buy was urgently required, for instance for a sick person, and they had to give up their names to the dealers who entered them into a book.\* But native historians inform us that practically there was no restriction, and that the sale of wines in the bazars, though apparently limited, only furthered the spread of drunkenness. It is not known whether Akbar ever repealed his law. Jahāngír, however, in the fourth year of his

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\* Akbar enacted similar laws to suppress the social evil. The remedies which he applied consisted in compulsory segregation and registration of both parties.

reign (1608) forbade the sale of *búzah* (beer) and *bang* (cannabis), because he believed these two things to be at the root of every mischief. He also forbade gambling, which had been the vice of Akbar's court, and inflicted severe punishments on transgressors. It is not clear whether Jahángír's order included the prohibition of wine; the term *búzah* does not apply to wine. But even if it did, the 'drinking feasts' at court were so well known throughout the whole country, that the bazar people of Agrah must have laughed at the order. Jahángír's raid against *búzah* and *bang* was, in fact, as ineffectual as his famous edict against smoking tobacco,—a commodity which, according to the testimony of the *Bahár-i-'Ajam*, had found its way into India a few years before the death of Akbar, and had spread so rapidly, that when Jahángír, in 1616, in imitation of the example of Sháh 'Abbás of Persia, interdicted the use and the sale of tobacco, there were "but few" that had not become addicted to smoking."

The "Memoirs" of Jahángír do not contain a single grand or sublime thought. Their royal author had none. They do not even contain a single good maxim on the art of governing or the philosophy of life,—no indication that the writer believed in the power of truth,—no pithy saying,—not a trace that Jahángír ever realized his exalted position. This absence of thought will forcibly strike the reader, if, after perusing a few chapters of the *Aín*, he pass on to the "Memoirs." It is true we have no autobiography by Akbar, and we might erroneously ascribe to him a portion of Abulfazl's greatness; but as Plato's and Xenophon's works enable us to arrive at a correct estimate of the character of Socrates, so do the works of Abulfazl, especially the *Aín*, leave on us a deep impression of the sterling character of Akbar. Of all Muhammadan rulers, if we can call him a Muhammadan, Akbar did most comprehensively understand his position as king of a large country. During his reign, perhaps for the first time in Muhammadan history, did the idea of patriotism exercise an influence. Akbar himself believed, though it is not clear whether he received the idea from Abulfazl or whether he drew the thought from his own heart when sitting morning after morning on the lonely stone at Fathpúr Sikri, that as king he had to perform a divine mission, for the execution of which he was directly responsible to God, who in His mercy endows kings with a peculiar light. But in order effectively to perform this mission, the king must enter into the details of his government: every minute spent in compre-



hending that which is little, is a minute spent to the praise of God. The perseverance which Akbar showed in entering into minutiae, is in fact, one of the greatest features of his character. Jahángir was, in this respect, the very reverse of Akbar, and the idea which occasionally crops up in his "Memoirs" that enquiry into details is inconsistent with the dignity of a king, is a satisfactory explanation of the fact that during his reign the administration of the country considerably declined. Sháh-jahán, to the benefit of India, returned to Akbar's mode of reigning by mastering details; hence the prosperity of the country advanced; in fact, it reached, according to the testimony of the historian Kháfi Khán, a point to which it never before, nor ever afterwards, attained under a Mogul emperor.

The absence in Jahángir of the most common virtues of a ruler renders it intelligible why his reign was not distinguished by a single act of internal policy. He did not, for example, see the use of continuing the conciliating attitude which Akbar had assumed towards mountaineers and aboriginal tribes. The example of the Mawis, a wild tribe whom Akbar had formed into a military corps, and whom he had so attached to his person that he thought them fit to guard his palace, was lost upon Jahángir. Nor did he derive the advantage which he might have enjoyed from the gigantic struggle and victory of Akbar over the *Sadr* and the '*Ulamás*, the true estimation of which has escaped our modern historians. What importance should we attach to the struggle in a Roman Catholic country between Church and State, or to the confiscation by a Catholic ruler of the property of monasteries? We should look upon such a fact as the commencement of a new era. Now this is exactly what Akbar achieved in Hindustan; and though it took him eighteen years to depose the *Sadr*, to drive away and dispossess the '*Ulamás*, and to eradicate from men's minds the idea of the necessity of retaining a high ecclesiastical officer as the *Sadr* for centuries had been, his triumph over this old Islamic institution was so complete, that no Mogul king after him ever attempted to revive its defunct authority. The duty which Akbar's triumph imposed upon Jahángir, but which he did not perform, was to devote every attention to the confiscated lands, which, from their sudden transfer from the hands of the '*Ulamás* to the *Khalsah*, and from neglect, in a short time turned to desert and jungle. Hence also the fact that the revenue of the provinces during Jahángir's reign did

not only not increase,\* but did in some instances fall short of the sums collected by Akbar.

We shall add a few words regarding Jahángír's religious feelings. The estimate which\* Elphinstone (p. 551) has formed of Jahángír's faith, appears to be correct, though still somewhat too flattering. He says:—"The general impression is, that though more superstitious, he was less devout than Akbar, and had little feeling of religion even when abstracted from all peculiar tenets." Akbar worked out his own belief; and he clung to the Hindú and Parsí rites which formed the external part of his 'Divine Faith' with all the tenacity of his character. Jahángír who, from weakness of mind and nature, had no opinions of his own, either on politics or as regards men in general, cannot be expected to have had religious convictions. He cared as little for Islam as for Hinduism, and yet he was by fits a devout Muslim, a good Hindu, a decided Parsí, and a member of Akbar's Divine Faith. Sometimes even, according to a statement by Sir T. Roe, he counted in prayer the beads of a rosary adorned with the image of Christ and the Virgin. Akbar's son Murád had received 'several lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness,' and two of Dányáls sons, Jahángír's nephews, are said 'to have embraced Christianity with Jahángír's full approbation.' Akbar earnestly enquired into the tenets of different religions, and formed the peculiar Faith of which *Baddónt* and the *Dabistán-ul-Muzáhib* have fortunately left us interesting particulars; Jahángír did not enquire into religious matters, and vacillated, from motives of almost childish fear, from one belief to another. Superstition was his religion. Like many princes in Europe, he was in the hands of the astrologers, and was a firm believer in their lucky and unlucky days. Eclipses and conjunctions of two inauspicious stars frightened him. As if some one had to be appeased, he distributed alms on such occasions with his own hands, or withdrew into the inner apartments of his palace, anxiously waiting till the striking of the gong announced the glad tidings that the moment of the dreaded conjunction had passed, when he issued forth with composure to receive the congratulations of his courtiers

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\* Thus the revenue of Bengal and Orissa, which, during the latter part of Akbar's reign, amounted to nearly sixty *krors* of *dams*, or one hundred and fifty lakhs of Rupees (Rs. 150,00,000), remained the same during the whole reign of Jahángír, though it immediately increased in the beginning of Sháhjahán's administration by ten *krors*, and subsequently by two *krors*, making a total increase of thirty lakhs (Rs. 30,00,000).

and astrologers. He thought that God would approve the 'contract' which he made with him, because he was a Pádisháh, and the same vanity convinced him that he, and nobody else in his whole kingdom, was the person whose fate might be affected by the dreaded conjunction. He stood in bodily awe of the Hindu astrologer Jotikrái, whose 'prophecies' on several occasions—they are minutely related in the *Tuzuk*—turned out so correct as to throw the whole court into consternation. The presents which Jotikrái received were enormous; he was even once weighed in gold.

Towards the end of his life, Jahángír inclined more decidedly towards Muhammadanism, though this change is perhaps attributable to the prominent part which was taken by Sharif Irání Mu'tamid Khán, the author of the *Iqbálnámah*, in revising and continuing the Emperor's "Memoirs." But how little Jahángír, in reality, cared even for Muhammadanism is best seen from the fact that from no passage in his "Memoirs" can it be shown that he had either Sunni or Shí'ah tendencies. Muhammadan feasts are rarely, if ever, mentioned, and every allusion to the prophet and his companions is carefully avoided. Jahángír was sure that he would go to Paradise, not because he was a Muhammadan,—a consolation which forms even now-a-days the sum of a Muslim's faith—but because he was a Pádisháh. In relating the death of any of his private enemies, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, he sends them, charitably enough, to hell (*dar jahannam raft*),—a phrase which a Sunni would hesitate to apply to a Shí'ah. One of those whom Jahángír doomed "to hell" was 'Alí Qulí Beg, better known as Sher Afkan, the former husband of Núr Jahán. "He had stayed since the beginning of my reign at Bardwan in Bengal," says the Emperor in his Memoirs, "and I had taken no notice of his bad behaviour. But when it came to my ears that he continued to behave rebelliously, I gave Qutbuddín Khán the order to send him to court, or kill him, should he oppose my orders. [This was in the second year of Jahángír's reign.] Qutbuddín went to Bardwan; and as soon as Sher Afkan heard of it, he took two men with him and charged Qutbuddín's troopers. Qutbuddín called out to him asking him what he meant by this, and, ordering his troopers to halt, advanced singly to inform Sher Afkan of the Emperor's orders. But Sher Afkan, thinking this a good opportunity, ran up to Qutbuddín and gave him two or three sword-cuts; when Ambah Khán, who is related to Qutbuddín and belongs to the family of the rulers of Kashmír,

seeing Qutbuddín sink, rushed forward and gave Sher Afkan a sword-cut over the head, but was at the same moment run through his body by Sher Afkan. Qutbuddín's troopers then closed up, cut Sher Afkan to pieces, and sent him to hell. *I hope that this black-faced wretch will for ever remain in hell.* Ambah Khán\* died on the spot, but Qutbuddín 'went to God' about three hours after the affray."

To the same pleasant abode 'Osmán of Orissa is condemned ; and 'Abdullah Khán, one of Jahángir's courtiers who joined Sháhjahán's party, was dubbed by the Emperor *La'natullah*, 'God's curse,'—a term which no Muhammadan would ever think of applying to another Muhammadan.

Jahángir's indifference to Muhammadanism is also seen from the absence in his "Memoirs" of the religious preface which characterises books written by Muhammadans. Their works commence invariably with a few lines to the praise of God, upon which follow lines in laudation of the Prophet, and, in the case of Shí'ahs, of 'Alí ; and these prefaces have become so established by custom, that even the vilest productions sold in the bazars would never be issued without them. During the reign of Akbar, when Islamitic customs fell into discredit at the court, books were still commenced with a few lines to the praise of God and the reigning king ; but the laudation of the Prophet was discontinued, much offence being thus given to pious Muhammadans throughout the country. Jahángir's "Memoirs" in the opening chapters say nothing about God and the Prophet ; and this omission was deemed so opprobrious, that Muhammad Hádí, in his edition of the "Memoirs," supplied a preface with the customary laudations. The few passages also in which the name of Muhammad could not have been well avoided, are destitute of the usual addition—"May God's peace rest upon him!"—an omission

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\* The name *Ambah Khán* is doubtful. Kháfí Khán merely speaks of a Kashmirian, but does not give his name. The *Maásir ulumará* calls him *Dáibah Khán*, and the *Iqbál-námah*, *Pír Khán*. In a foot-note of p. 24 of the latter work, it is said that some MSS. call him *Dáibah*, and some *Raibah Khán*. Kháfí Khán also states that Núr Jahán's mother gave a different version of Sher Afkan's death. She said that after killing Ambah Khán, Sher Afkan, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, who at that time was called *Mihrunisá*. But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Núr Jahán had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions." *Kháfí Khán*; I., p. 267.

which every Muslim looks upon as blasphemy.\*

The *Sijdah*, or prostration and touching the ground with the forehead, a ceremony which Jahāngír, like Akbar, exacted from his courtiers, was opposed to the spirit of Islām, because prostration is only due to God. When Akbar introduced it, the murmurs were so loud, that he had to limit the new custom to private assemblies, contenting himself, when in public, with the treble *salām*. But towards the end of Akbar's reign, the custom must have gradually become less objectionable, because Jahāngír, at his accession, found his courtiers willing to prostrate themselves before him. The only exception which he made was in favor of the Lord Chief Justice of the Empire, "who could not well be supposed to act against the Muhammadan *Shara'*, or law. Shāhjahān abolished the *Sijdah* on the very day of his accession, substituting for it a fourth *salām*, in addition to the customary three, and thus gained for himself the title of 'Restorer of the Faith.'"

The hostile feeling against Muhammadanism which prevailed at the courts of Akbar and Jahāngír, was a very delicate subject for subsequent historians to refer to; and if it were not for occasional statements in the *Pádisháhnámah*, we might feel inclined to distrust the statements of Badáoní, upon whose authority our knowledge of this religious development almost entirely depends.

Jahāngír also continued the Hindu customs introduced by Akbar. The *Diwálpriyá* was kept at court, and cows were paraded in the gardens of the palace adorned with ribbons and cowries, and accompanied by Brahmans. In the night called *Súvrát*, Jahāngír, like Akbar, invited the principal yogís to the palace, and ate and drank with them. The Hindu custom called *Rák'hí*, which consists in tying prophylactic pieces of cloth round the wrists and arms, was also continued, and in the eighth year of his reign, Jahāngír celebrated a regular *Shráddh* in the Mausoleum of his father at Sikandrah,†

\* Elphinstone, p. 551, says :—"In his writings he (Jahāngír) affects the devout style usual to all Masalmans"; but this statement is not correct, as a perusal of the Tuzuk will show.

† Sikandrah, or Secundra, cost all in all fifteen lakhs of rupees (Memoirs, p. 72). It was more than three years building. When it was finished, Jahāngír made a pilgrimage to Sikandrah on foot from Agrah, a distance of about eight miles. "I marched the whole distance in all obedience and humility. When I was born, my august father walked from Fathpúr Sikri to Ajmir, a distance of one hundred and twenty kos, to visit the tomb of the Saint Mu'in i Chishti. Hence, after all, I have not done very much."

Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) performing the necessary rites as proxy. In the sixth year of his reign, Jahángír had given the order that no Hindu should, on any condition, be forced to turn Muhammadan.

But this kindness towards Hindus, which in Akbar flowed from a royal and benevolent heart, must be ascribed in Jahángír to caprice and fitfulness rather than to conviction or policy. If it suited his vanity to appear in the new character of a *defensor fidei*, or *Pádisháh i Ghází*, he would indeed pay little respect to the religious feelings of his Hindu subjects. Thus once, on his march to Kashnír, he passed the Fort of Kángará, which a short time ago had been conquered. From the time that the Islamitic call to prayer had been heard in India till then, Kángará had never succumbed to a Muhammadan ruler; and this novelty so tickled Jahángír's vanity, that he determined by a solemn ceremony to hand over the virgin fort to Islám. The Lord Chief Justice, the lawyers, and the learned that were present in the camp, were summoned to appear, and went through certain rites and ordinances of the Prophet before the Emperor. Thus the *Azán*, or call to prayer, was chanted, and the *Khutbah*, or Friday prayer for the reigning sovereign, was read. After this a cow was killed in an open place of the Fort, and several other ceremonies were performed, intended to defile the place in which for centuries nothing but "the filth of disbelief" had gathered. The order was also given to build a mosque in the middle of the Fort. Jahángír then visited the *Bhawan*. This was a Durga temple, famous for its black stone idol (which the Emperor thought even "blacker than the hearts of the Hindus doomed to hell," ) and for its *Jwálá Muk'hi*, the sacred flame of which issued mysteriously from the ground. "It is quite plain," says Jahángír, "that the fire arises from a sulphur mine in the mountain, and that the fire is nothing else but the natural result of the heat latent in sulphur. But the Hindus, who are doomed to perdition, refer it to the hideous black idol,—but true knowledge rests with God!" It seems, however, that the idol escaped all safe. But on other occasions Jahángír appears as a zealous iconoclast, destroying idols and temples, and even killing the Brahmans in charge of the *t'hákurs*, as he did, for example, at Ajmír ("Memoirs," p. 124.).

A short time before the Fort of Kángará had been handed over to Islám, Jahángír interfered with the customs of a clan

of Muhammadans at Rájor. "These men were forcibly converted to Muhámmadanism by Fírúz Sháh. Their chiefs, however, have retained the title of Rájah, and the customs of the dark ages of Hinduism are still being observed among them. Thus the Hindu wives of these Muhammadans burn themselves with their husbands, or are put alive into the grave with them. Only a few days ago, they did so with a girl about ten or twelve years old. Moreover, the poorer classes among them are in the habit of strangling female infants. They all intermarry with Hindus, and even give their daughters to Hindus. Now, to take Hindu girls is not so bad, but to give a Hindu one's daughter—God have mercy on me! I ordered these Muhammadans to discontinue such horrid practices; let every one be executed that will not give them up." We cannot conclude from this passage that Jahāngír was at all anxious to suppress *Suttee*; for to judge from other places in his "Memoirs" (as p. 67), he must have rather looked upon it as something verger hoic, and as a sacrifice almost due by a woman to her departed husband. Akbar had indeed once attempted to put a stop to women mounting the funeral pile; but we know that the Brahmans by whom he was surrounded, procured a modification of the law in favor of such women as openly declared that from choice they burnt themselves with their husbands. Gradually, however, this restriction fell into abeyance, and the prohibition was virtually abolished.

Jahāngír also retained many of the Pársi customs which his father had introduced at Court. Pársi feasts were celebrated to the entire exclusion of the Muhammadan feasts, with the only exception of the *Shab í Barát*, which itself appears to be an inheritance from pre-Islamitic ages. The names also of the imperial princes were all Pársi. Akbar hated the name *Muhammad*, and every other name which reminded him of the family of the Prophet. His own sons, Saím, Murád, Dányál, had still Islamitic names; but of his eight grandchildren one (Báyasanghar, Dányál's son,) had a *Chagutái* name, whilst the rest, as also most of the Princesses, had Pársi names.\*

There is, however, no evidence that Jahāngír worshipped the fire according to the rites of the Pársis, as Akbar and Abulfazl

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\* *Viz.*, Jahāngír's five sons:—Khúsrau, Parwíz, Khurram, Jahándár, Shahryár, and the remaining two sons of Dányál—Hoshang and Tahmúras. So also in the case of Jahāngír's grandchildren; in fact, the predilection for Pársi names is even traceable in the names of the impoverished descendants of Akbar now living in Delhi.

had done. He speaks in his "Memoirs" with the greatest respect of the sun and the fire; he gives them the title of *Lord*, and calls them rays of the Divine glory. On one occasion when he had opened the grave of the patricide Naçiruddín of Málwah (*Tuz.*, p. 181), whose tomb Sher Khán even had once beaten with sticks, Jahángír would not burn the skeleton found in the grave, because he dreaded acting irreverently towards so divine a thing as fire, and had the bones thrown into the Nar-baddah. But no passage in the "Memoirs" contains the slightest allusion to an actual and systematic worship of fire. Nor does the *Dabistán-ul-Mazáhib*, a work which gives us some information regarding Akbar's "Divine Faith," say anything about Jahángír having continued the sacred fire which Akbar at great expense had brought by a Pársi priest from a temple in Kirmán to an altar built by him in the Imperial Harem. Jahángír had no strength of character to attach himself to any religion in particular. Afraid of bringing down on himself the wrath of an "Unknown God," he went a few paces along with each faith, but stopped where superstition ends and decided belief is required.

We now turn to the events which took place in the interregnum between the death of Jahángír and the accession of Sháhjahán, a short period which native historians call "the accession and reign of Dáwar Bakhsh." We premise that this portion of Indian history is somewhat confused, and is either left out by European historians, or is differently related. The following account is taken from the native histories mentioned on page 125, the author of one of which, the *Iqbálnámah*, took a prominent part in the events of the interregnum.

*The Interregnum to the Accession of Sháhjahán.*

The death of Jahángír, though long expected, threw the camp into the greatest confusion. Sháhjahán was far away in the Dak'hin in rebellion against his father, who had deprived him of the right of succession, and conferred upon him the title of *Bedaulat*, or "Lackpower." Shahryár, Jahángír's youngest son and favorite of Núr Jahán, was, as we saw above, in Láhor, recovering from his sickness. The executive of the Government, therefore, devolved for the present upon the principal grandees present with the camp. They were Asaf Khán and Irádat Khán. The former was a commander of six thousand, and as such the first grandee of Jahángír's court. He was Núr Jahán's elder brother, and father of Arjmand Báúú Begum, better known as Mumtáz



Mahall,\* a title which Sháhjahán, her husband, had conferred upon her. The other, Irádat Khán, or, according to his full name, A'zam Khán Mír Muhammad Báqir, a Sayyid of the Persian town of Sáwah, had also risen to high honors at court, where he had been introduced by Asaf Khán. The near relationship which existed between Asaf Khán and Sháhjahán, whose attachment to Mumtáz Mahall has almost become proverbial, was the cause why Asaf was anxious to see his son-in-law succeed to the vacant throne. Tired of the plots of Núr Jahán, and unwilling to let her influence outlive her husband, he called Irádat Khán, and consulted him as to the line of policy they might follow. Shahryár, in Láhor, on receiving the news of Jahangír's death, was sure to proclaim himself Emperor, and Sháhjahán was so far away, that it would be impossible for him to be in Agrah before another two months. It was clear that they would have to oppose Shahryár; but if they did so without higher authority, merely as grandees of the court, they would risk the confidence of the troops, and might appear as rebels in the eyes of the people and the other courtiers, many of whom would naturally flock to Shahryár. They might themselves proclaim Shahjahán emperor, read the *Khutbah* in his name, and oppose Shahryár on their own responsibility, pending Shahjahán's sanction. This appeared dangerous, especially if they should not be successful. Asaf Khán, therefore, proposed that they should proclaim as emperor Dáwar Bakhsh† whom Núr Jahán had put in Irádat Khán's charge; they should then march to Lahor and seize Shahryár, nominally directed by the new Emperor; Sháhjahán would, in the meantime, march towards Agrah, and they would then find a favorable opportunity to seize Dáwar Bakhsh, and hand him over to Sháhjahán.

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\* It was for her that Sháhjahán subsequently built the *Táj* near Agrah. The word *Táj* is a modern corruption and abbreviation of the name *Mumtáz Begum*, the *z* having been changed to a *j*, as so often happens in the dialect of the vulgar. She is now called *Taj Bibi*, and her Mausoleum *Taj Bibi ka rauzah*. A full historical account of the Taj, the ground on which it stands (Rajah Mán Singh's property), the cost of building it, and the assignments for keeping it in repairs, will be found in the "*Pádisháhnámah*."

† Dáwar Bakhsh was also called *Buláqí*, the origin of which name is not given in the histories. He was the second son of the unfortunate Khusrau (Jahāngír's eldest son). Khusrau's third son, Garhasp, must have been in the camp with Núr Jahán. Dáwar Bakhsh was not alive in 1608, in which year his elder brother, Baland Akubar, was born. Hence Dáwar may have been about seventeen years old, when Asaf proclaimed him Emperor.

Irádat Khán approved of this complicated plan, and although scarcely more than an hour had elapsed since Jahángír breathed his last, both proceeded immediately to execute their designs.

They removed the guards that had been placed over Dáwar Bakhsh, and after informing him of the death of his grandfather, they paid him homage as Emperor. Dáwar was so taken by surprise, that he would not believe that they were in earnest. The step from a prisoner to an Emperor was too great and sudden. He asked them to attest by an oath the uprightness of their intentions; they swore that they were filled with loyal feelings towards him, and, almost forcibly, led him out to receive the homage of the camp. They placed him on an elephant, spread the *chatr* or umbrella over him, and marched in pomp to the next station.

Núr Jahán was thunderstruck at these proceedings, much more so than Dáwar Bakhsh himself had been. Message after message did she send to Asaf Khán to come to her; but he turned a deaf ear to her request, and sent as many excuses. Decorum and grief prevented her from leaving the corpse of her husband and going to her brother, and, doubtful as to the course of action which she should take in this emergency, she placed the corpse before her *hawdah*, and, accompanied by the princes, followed the camp.

Asaf Khán, in the meantime, had despatched a Hindu courier, of the name of Banárasí, to Sháhjahán with the news of the Emperor's death, and unwilling to lose a single moment by sitting down to write a letter, he gave the courier a verbal message, and his ring, which was to convince Sháhjahán of the truth of the report. Of his plan, and the proclamation of Dáwar Bakhsh as Emperor, he said, for the present, nothing.

The camp, as related above on page 126, halted in the evening at Naushahrah, and the next day the corpse was despatched from Bhambar to Láhor.

Though the new Emperor appears to have remained entirely ignorant of the conspiracy of Asaf Khán, the nobles who were present with the camp saw through the plan, and, looking upon Dáwar Bakhsh "as a sheep selected for sacrifice," they did what Asaf told them to do, and showed great zeal in carrying out his orders. At Bhambar the *khutbah* was read in the name of Dáwar Bakhsh. The next thing which Asaf Khán

thought necessary was to remove the princes \* from the charge of Núr Jahán, and hand them over to Siddiq. Khán, one of his relations. No sooner was this accomplished than he placed his sister under surveillance, allowing no one to approach her without his orders, thus breaking for ever Núr Jahán's power. She hoped, however, that her compulsory seclusion would end with her arrival at Láhor, where Shahryár, as she thought, would have in the meantime been proclaimed Emperor.

Nor was she mistaken in the latter point. Scarcely had Jahángír closed his eyes, when Báyasanghar, one of the three sons of Prince Dányál,† had found means to elude Asaf's vigilance and fled to Sharyár at Láhor, who, on hearing the news of his father's death, proclaimed himself emperor, taking formal possession of the Fort, the Treasury, the Arsenal, and the Stables. In the Treasury Shahryár found the sum of seventy-three lakhs of rupees in cash, and large as this sum was, he spent it in the course of a week, in presents to courtiers that had joined him, and to his soldiers. He had also put Báyasanghar in command of his troops, and had sent him across the Ravi to await the approach of Asaf Khan, whom he was to attack and defeat.

Asaf Khán at last arrived, and lost no time in making the necessary preparations for battle. He put Dáwar Bakhsh on an elephant, and, mounting another himself, took command of the centre. The avantguard was led by Khwájah Abul Hasan, Mukhlis Khán, Iláhwadí Khán, and several of the Sayyids of Bárha, whilst the *Altamish*, or the troops between the avantguard and the centre, was commanded by Sher Khwájah, and Tahmúras and Hoshang, the other two sons of Prince Dányál. On the right wing stood Irádat Khán, and on the left Siddiq Khán, Shah Nawaz Khán, and Mu'tamid Khán (the author of the "*Iqbál-námah*"). The armies met at a distance of about three *kos* from the town; but Shahryár's soldiers being mostly new and inexperienced, gave way at the very first attack of Asaf's veterans, and fled in utter confusion. Shahryár, in the meantime, accompanied by two thousand horse, stood anxiously waiting under the walls

\* Dará Shikoh, Shujá', and Aurangzib. They were thirteen, eleven, and ten years old respectively. Asaf came with them to Sháhjahán at Agrah.

† Prince Dányál was Akbar's youngest son. He had three sons:—1, Tahmúras, who was married to Sultan Bahár Begum, a daughter of Jahángír; 2, Báyasanghar; 3, Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand Bánú Begum, a daughter of Khusrav. None of them could have been younger than twenty-two, because Dányál died in 1604 or 1605.

of Láhor. A Turkish slave was the first that brought him the news of the disgraceful defeat of his army. Instead of flying to the frontier of Afghánistan, as Báyasanghar appears to have done, Shahryár took refuge in the fort, and hid himself in the harem of his father.

The next day Asaf Khan appeared before Láhor, making the Garden of Mahdí Qásim Khán his head-quarters. Most of Shahryár's soldiers now joined Asaf, and in the evening Irádat Khán, without opposition, occupied the palace and the fort. On the following morning Dáwar Bakhsh mounted the throne in the State-hall, and was publicly acknowledged Emperor of Hindustan.

It was not to be expected that Shahryár would long remain in his hiding place. No sooner had Dáwar Bakhsh publicly assumed the reins of the Government, than Fírúz Khán, one of Jahángír's eunuchs, brought the unfortunate prince from the Harem, and handed him over to Iláhwárdí Khán who pinioned him with a waistband (*fautah*) and took him before Dáwar. He had to go through the humiliating process of performing the *kornish* and *taslím*, or salutations which the subject owes the king, and was then put in prison, where, after two days, he was deprived of his sight. His wife, Núr Jahán's daughter by Sher Afkan, as also Tahmúras and Hoshang, were likewise imprisoned.

Asaf Khán now despatched a detailed report to Sháhjahán, informing him of his plan regarding Dáwar Bakhsh, the occupation of Láhor, and the fate of Shahryár, begging of him "to repair on the wing of swiftness to Agrah, and restore the "troubled world to the blessings of peace." The first courier, after an uninterrupted ride of twenty days, arrived at last on Saturday night, the 18th November 1627, (19th Rabí' I. 1037) at the frontier of Nizámulmulk's dominions, where Sháhjahán had encamped, and went at once to Mahábat Khán, who a few days previously had joined the prince. Mahábat "like wind and lightning" went with the courier to Sháhjahán, and had him roused from sleep. "The heart-rending news weighed down the filial heart of the prince with heavy grief, and the signs of sorrow appeared on his august forehead." But this was no time for indulging in passion, or arranging for ceremonies of court-mourning, and "yielding to the request of Mahábat Khán and other adherents," Sháhjahán, with the permission of the astrologers, fixed upon the following Thursday (22nd November) as the day of departure, and despatched

Amínullah and Báyzíd to Asaf Khān to inform him of his march. After crossing on the following Wednesday the Narbadda, Sháhjahán went to Ahmadábád in Gujrát, where, through several merchants who had agents at Láhor, he heard of Shahryár's fate. After settling several matters relating to the posting of grandees to the different provinces, he wrote with his own hand to Asaf Khan that it was now advisable to make away with Dáwar Bakhsh, his brother Garshasp, Shahryár, and the sons of Dányál, in order to set the minds of the people at rest. This order reached Asaf on Sunday, 21st January, 1628, (23rd Jumáda I. 1,027, A. H.). After reading the *Khutbah* in the name of Sháhjahán, he seized Dáwar Bakhsh and imprisoned him. On Tuesday night (26th Jumáda I, or 23rd January, 1628) the five princes whose names were specified in Sháhjahán's bloody order were murdered in the prison of Láhor, and "the flower bed of existence was cleared of the weeds and rubbish of their lives." With the exception of Báyasanghar, whose fate after the battle on the Rawí is involved in obscurity, and Sháhjahán himself, no Timuride was left to claim the vacant throne.

Sháhjahán had, in the meantime, reached Ajmír (17th Jumáda I), where, in accordance with the custom observed by his father and grandfather, he paid a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Mu'in Chishtí. One grandee after another now joined the camp, and the capital was at last reached on Wednesday night, the day after the murder of the princes at Láhor. In the garden of the Núr Jahán Manzil, Sháhjahán received the homage of Qásim Khán, the commander of the fort. The next morning (25th January, 1628), the Emperor, mounted on an elephant and under the shade of the imperial umbrella, marched in procession from the garden through the town to the palace in the fort, throwing with his hands money among the crowd that assembled in the streets of Agrah to see the new Emperor.

The official *julús* took place twelve days after the procession, on Monday, 5th February 1628 (8th Jumáda II, 1037 A.H.),\*

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\* The eighth *Jumáda II* is the 156th day of the Muhammadan year. Now the year 1037 A. H. commenced on Sunday, 2nd September 1627, and the 156th day, according to Muhammadan custom, commenced at sunset, the 4th February 1628, *i.e.*, the *julús* was on the following day (5th February). In Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 316, Sháhjahán's *julús* is said to have happened on the 9th February; but there appears to be no authority for so late a date.

when the *Khutbah* was read in the name of *Abul Muzaffar Shihábuddín Muhammad Sáhibqirání sánt Sháhjahán Pád-isháh i Ghází*.

We have then the following facts :—

28th *Safar*, 1037 A.H., or 28th *October*, 1627. Jahángír dies near Rájor. Asaf Khán despatches Banárisí to Sháhjahán, and proclaims Dáwar Bakhsh emperor.

29th *Safar*. Jahángír's corpse is sent from Bhambar to Láhor. Báyasanghar, son of Dányál, flies to Shahryár. Asaf marches to Láhor.

? Asaf defeats Shahryár, and blinds him. Imprisons Hoshang and Tahmúras [not Báyasanghar, whose fate is unknown].

19th *Rabí' I*, or 18th *November*. Sháhjahán hears of Jahángír's death.

23rd *Rabí' I*, or 22nd *November*. Sháhjahán marches for Agrah.

? Sháhjahán reaches Almadabad, and sends Asaf an order to kill Shahryár, Dáwar Bukhsh, Garshasp, and the sons of Dányál. [The *Pádishánámah* mentions two sons of Dányál.]

23rd *Jumáda I*, 1037 A. H., or 21st *January*, 1628. Sháhjahán's order reaches Asaf.

26th *Jumáda I*, or the night of the 23rd *January* 1628.

Asaf Khán kills five priuces, viz., Shahryár, Dáwar Bakhsh, Garshasp, Tahmúras, Hoshang. Sháhjahán reaches Agrah.

27th *Jumáda I*, or 25th *January*, 1628. Sháhjahán enters the Fort of Agrah.

8th *Jumáda II*, 1037 A.H., or 5th *February*, 1628. Sháhjahán's *julús*, or accession.

These are the historical details as given in the *Tuzuk*, the *Pádisháhnámah*, and the *Iqbálnámah*, whose author was present in the battle on the right bank of the Ráwí. The account of the *Tuzuk*, with a few slight alterations, agrees verbally with that in the *Iqbálnámah*, so that Muhammad Hádí, who wrote the concluding chapters of the *Tuzuk* must have copied it from the *Iqbálnámah*. The account of the *Pádisháhnámah* is independent, and evinces that carefulness regarding dates and details, which distinguishes the whole work.

The author of another but later historical work, entitled *Khulásat uttawárikh*, gives in substance the same facts. But all four historians pass over in silence the fate of Báyasanghar.

The historian *Kháfí Khán*, of whose works the first volume has just been issued by the Asiatic Society, and also Elphinstone's History of India, give different accounts. We do not

know the sources of either, though Elphinstone used to a certain extent Kháfi Khán. As far as Kháfi Khán's differences are concerned, we are inclined to ascribe them to carelessness; for, in his details and dates, Kháfi Khan, especially in the first volume, is by no means exact, as a comparison with other histories will show.

*Differences in Kháfi Khán's Account.*

Jahángír dies at Rájor.

The courier Banárasí Dás is sent from Bhambar. One son of Dányál was with Sháhryár. Kháfi Khán does not say which.

Shahryár found at Láhor ninety lakhs of rupees, of which he spent seventy.

There was some fighting and a short siege next morning. Shahryár was taken, before Dáwar Bakhsh and blinded, and "the sons of Dányál were dealt with as Shahryár had been treated, and were made his companions."

Asaf Khán kills Shahryár and the sons of Dányál on the 22nd Jumáda I. Sháhjahán's order also only specifies "Shahryár and the sons of Dányál."

Thus Kháfi Khán says nothing about the fate of Dáwar Bakhsh, Garshasp, and Báyasanghar. Of the last two he does not even give the names.

Sháhjahán arrives at Lahor towards the end of the second Jumáda (p. 394, l. 3 from below)—a blunder which the editor with a little care might have avoided. The *julús* is said to have happened on the seventh Jumada II.

*Differences in Elphinstone's Account, (p. 575).*

"Shahryár, forming a coalition with two sons of his uncle, the late Prince Dányál, marched out to oppose Asaf Khán. The battle ended in his defeat; he fled into the citadel, was given up by his adherents, and afterwards put to death with the sons of Dányál by order of Sháhjahán."

In a foot-note Elphinstone adds that Dáwar Bakhsh [he says by mistake *Dáwar Shikoh*], also called Bolákí, found means to escape to Persia, where he was afterwards seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633 [i.e., five years later].

Thus Elphinstone says that Dáwar escaped, whilst three contemporary historians say that he was killed by Asaf. Elphinstone quotes as his authority *Olearius, Ambassadors'*

*Travels*, p. 190; but the writer of this article regrets \* to say that the work is not to be found in those libraries of this country to which he has had access. The alleged escape of Dáwar to Persia appears, moreover, improbable, as even a Persian historian, Sikandar Munshí, says towards the end of his history † that it was reported at the Persian court that no less than five princes had been murdered in one night by order of Sháhjahán. He then names "Shahryár (who was blind), Dáwar Bakhsh, another prince who was Dáwar's brother, and two sons of Prince Dányál." As Sikandar Munshí held a high office at the Persian court, it appears improbable that he should have been unacquainted with Dáwar Bakhsh, if the latter ever had gone to Persia.

Sikandar's account also presents a few discrepancies. He says, "In 1037 A. H., three kings died in Hindustán, viz., Jahángír, Ibráhím 'Adilsháh II. of Bījápúr, and Sultán Muhammad Qutbsháh of Golcondah. This reminded people of the year 961 A. H., when three other kings of Hindustán had died in the same year, viz., Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh, Sultán Mahmúd of Gujrát, and Burhán Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar. The poet Qásim i Káhí had found the *Tárikh* of the death of the latter three in the words *Zawád-i-Khusrawán* (=961). Jahángír, when in the agony of death, had Dáwar Bakhsh released from prison, and appointed him successor. Dáwar, supported by Asaf Khán, had defeated and blinded Shahryár at Láhor. Sháhjahán had then marched to Agra, and, as many grandees had attached themselves to his party, Asaf had also done so, and handed over to him the five princes as specified above, who, by order of Sháhjahán, were murdered near Agra."

The rumours, therefore, current at the Persian court, agree with the accounts of the *Pádisháhnámah* and the *Tuzuk*.

### Conclusion.

The preceding remarks will perhaps convince the reader that the field of Indian History is virgin soil, and that the study and comparison of the sources yield a rich and almost immediate harvest of new facts and interesting details. The first and greatest difficulty connected with the study of the sources lies in the corrupt state of historical MSS. The copyists

\* The work is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Metcalfe Library, Calcutta; but the book—like many others—is not forthcoming.

† Entitled '*Álam Aráí Sikandarí*. It has not been printed.



of Indian MSS., as a rule, scarcely understand, or care to understand, the texts they copy, a fact which has made Indian MSS. a byword with Oriental scholars. Without possessing three or four good MSS. of a work, it is impossible to prepare a translation. Even our printed texts are little better than superior MSS., and those who undertake to translate the histories (we speak from experience) cannot dispense with MSS. in addition to the printed or lithographed works.

The next difficulty lies in the deficiency of our knowledge of Indian Geography. *There exist no works of reference.* The beautiful maps of the Topographical Survey are issued without indexes of names, and the existing *gazetteers*, and perhaps those in course of preparation, do not give the native spelling of places, and are, besides, so meagre and unauthenticated as to be useless. Moreover, old towns have become unimportant villages, or have changed names, or have left their original site, or have altogether vanished from the surface of India; others again have two names, one sanctioned by centuries, the other given by the Muslim ruler. The character also of the MSS., abounding in small diacritical marks the least shifting of which alters the pronunciation of a word, only increases the difficulties, and makes it a duty to judge charitably the labors of editors, and perhaps the "superintendents" of their editions.

It may be useful to give an example of the geographical confusion of Indian MSS and printed historical texts. Without going to another period of Indian history, let us take, as an example, the geographical names which occur in the printed and written records of the events of the three months' interregnum between the death of Jahángír and the accession of Sháhjahán. The place near Rájor where Jahángír died, is called—

Chakkarhattí in the Tuzuk,

Jangazhattí in the Iqbálnámah,

Jangízhattí in the 'Alam Aráí Sikandarí (MS.),

Chatkarhatti in the Másir-ul-Umará (MS.),

and is left out in the Pádisháhnámah and Kháfí Káhn.

The place in the Dak'hin between the Tapti and the Narbadda, where the courier Banárasí found Sháhjahán, is called,—

Khaibar, in the Tuzuk,

Janír, in the Iqbálnámah,

Khair, in the Pádisháhnámah.

Kháfí Khán leaves out the name, and merely calls it "a fort."

Again, the town on the right bank of the Narbadda, which Sháhjahán reached after crossing it, is called—

Sanbúr, in the Tuzuk,  
 Sanúr, in the Iqbálnámah and Kháfí-Khán,  
 Sénur, in the Pádisháhnámah,

whilst the opposite place on the left bank of the Narbadda is called—

Bábá Piyárah in the Pádisháhnámah and Iqbálnámah.

Bábá Piyári in Kháfí Khán ;

and the Tuzuk, whose editor could not read the word in his MS., makes a clever conjecture, and puts in his text *biábyári*,—Sháhjahán reached the opposite bank *by swimming!*

Lastly, on the 4th Jumáda I, Sháhjahán reached the territory of Ráná Karan of *Gogundah* (Pádisháhnámah), for which all other printed and MSS. texts read *Golcondah!*

We assure the reader that the examples which we have given do not present an extraordinary amount of confusion ; for, in all cases we know the probable situation of the places referred to, and in six cases out of ten, the sheets of the Topographical Survey will suggest the correct spelling, though their mode of spelling names is by no means satisfactory or uniform. But when the position of a place is not even approximately known, which is more frequently the case, we may indeed say *hic hæret aqua*. Conjectures are then of no avail, unless one should be inclined to imitate the example of a gentleman at home, who, on reading of an event which happened at Sahárunpur, remarked that he never, during his stay of five years in India, heard of such a place, and that it was a palpable mistake for Serampore, a well-known town in the neighbourhood of Calcutta!

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ART VII.—*The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein ; with comparative vocabularies of the Hill Dialects.*  
By Captain T. H. Lewin, Deputy Commissioner of Hill Tracts. Calcutta. 1869.

THE district of Chittagong is a narrow strip of land which stretches along the coast of the Bay of Bengal for about a hundred and sixty miles from the River Fenny on the north to the estuary of the Naaf on the south. It consists for the most part of rich alluvial land diversified by ranges of low sandstone hills covered with dense tree jungle.

When this country first came into our hands, in the year 1761, it had not been quite a century subject to the Mogu Empire. At one time it is said to have belonged to the Kingdom of Tipperah, but at the earliest period of which we have any authentic accounts, it was, like Tipperah itself, a province of Aracan, though the Afghan kings of Bengal appear to have claimed, and occasionally for a time obtained, authority over it.

At the end of the sixteenth century the present town of Islamabad\* was the principal seaport of Bengal, and the early Portuguese adventurers, to whom it was known by the name of Porto Grando, had settled there in large numbers. Being bold and skilful seamen, they were employed as auxiliaries by the Aracanese and Moguls in turn, till, in 1666, the district and city were finally reduced to subjection by Shaista Khan.

The present population is such as its history might lead us to expect ; for, besides the hill people, of whom we shall have to speak below, it consists chiefly of Mahomedan Bengalis, with a few Hindus, and a considerable number of Rajbanshis or Burooa Mughls, who, though they speak the same language as their Bengali neighbours, have retained the Buddhist faith of their fathers. There is also a congregation numbering between one and two thousand of so-called Portuguese Catholics, who are no doubt for the most part descended from the slaves of the European settlers.

On the east the zillah of Chittagong is bounded by the outer margin of a system of mountain ranges which may be considered a ramification from the chain which runs along the south of the valley of Assam, and separates it from Munipur, Cachar and Sylhet. The two branches diverge between the

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\* Or Chittagong.

26th and 27th parallels of North latitude, and the 93rd and 94th degrees of longitude, and the Southern one, with which we are now concerned, runs with a general direction from north to south, past Cachar, Tipperah, Chittagong, and Aracan on the west, till it terminates in a rocky promontory at Cape Negrais. On the other side, after leaving Manipur, it looks down on the great valley of the Irrawaddy. "The loftiest "points of this great chain are found at its northern extremity "on the confines of the Munneepore territory, where the peaks "attain an elevation of from eight to nine thousand feet above "the sea, and average from five to six thousand. On the "Cachar and Sylhet frontier, the measurements hitherto made "give an altitude of from two to four thousand feet; east of "Tripurah and Chittagong, they fluctuate between two and "five thousand feet. On the Aracan frontier, their elevation "again becomes more considerable, and the Blue Mountain, "in latitude 21° North, and longitude 93° East, is said to be "upwards of 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. From this, "which appears to be the most elevated point of this division "of the chain, it gradually declines, and may be considered to "range between three and four thousand feet at all those passes "which have hitherto, or are ever likely, to be resorted to for "purposes of traffic or war.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Of the geological structure of this tract of country, our information is particularly incomplete and defective; the universal prevalence of dense and impervious forests, extending from the summits of the mountains to their bases, has restricted observation to those portions that have been laid bare by the action of the torrents, and to some few of the most conspicuous peaks and ridges.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Dr. Buchanan describes the hills bordering on the Kurnafulee as consisting of clay and sand slightly indurated, in thin plates, involving in some places small masses of a more solid nature, which admit of being cut with a chisel, and in a few places there were masses of petrified wood. That coal exists, though not discovered by him, in that locality, is rendered extremely probable by the inflammable gases which escape from apertures in the ground at two places not far from Chittagong, on the north. I am not aware that any attempt has ever been made to examine the summits of the more lofty ridges east of Chittagong; but, as far as it is possible to judge from the regularity of their undulating outline, and their

"being densely covered with luxuriant vegetation and lofty forest, it is very improbable that primary rock exists to any extent near the surface, as the sharp and rugged appearance by which the peaks and ridges of that class of rock are almost invariably characterised could hardly fail to be perceived. \* \*

"There are few circumstances more calculated to arrest attention in considering this chain of mountains, than the number and variety of the tribes by which they are inhabited. \* \* \* \*

"All these tribes have attained that degree of civilization which has induced them to become permanent cultivators of the soil; they congregate in regularly-established villages, and though individually fierce and impatient of control, are all living under a patriarchal system of Government, which, however imperfect, is found sufficient to preserve the social compact. \* \* \* \*

The tribes bordering on the plains of Assam, Bengal and Ava, carry on a limited traffic with the inhabitants of these countries; but the broad belt, stretching from Tripurah to the valley of the Kyendwen River, is occupied by numerous clans, who have little or no intercourse with their lowland neighbours, and of whose existence we are only rendered aware by a system of internal warfare among them which annually forces some new tribe into notice on the southern borders of the Munneepore territory. From the accounts of the Kupooee tribe it appears certain that the Kookies have been gradually advancing for years in a Northerly direction, and have hitherto established themselves on the ranges which were originally occupied by more Northern tribes, or committed such fearful aggressions on the latter as to compel them to retire and leave an unoccupied tract between themselves and these formidable opponents. Wherever we have yet penetrated amongst these mountains, the same system of exterminating warfare has been found to prevail amongst the different tribes; and it is far from uncommon, to find an implacable enmity existing between two villages situated on adjoining heights, the families of which had become united by frequent intermarriages, and whose fields were so contiguous, that the men of each village dared not venture into them unarmed. Those occupying the central ranges, and who, as has been before observed, have no direct intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains, are compelled to barter the produce of their tribes with the next adjoining tribe, who have, by a similar exchange with those bordering on the more civilised countries beyond them

"obtained the product of the plains. Under all these disadvantages, bell metal gongs and kurtals, the manufacture of the industrious inhabitants of Yunan, are found in almost all the hill villages along our eastern frontier, clearly proving that channels for a more extended commercial intercourse do exist, which only require attention to be more fully developed."

This general description of the hills on our eastern frontier was written by Captain Pemberton thirty-five years ago, and his account, so far as it goes, is still the most accurate which we possess, though a great deal of interesting information is contained in the little book which Captain Lewin has lately produced on "the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein." His account of the system of cultivation in use among the hillmen, for instance, is very complete. "The mode of cultivation pursued in the hills," he says at page 10, "is common to all the tribes. Indeed, wherever hill tribes are found throughout India, this special mode of cultivating the earth seems to prevail. It is known as 'tong-ya' in Burmah and Arracan, as 'dhai-ya' in the Central Provinces, while here the method is usually called 'joom,' and the hillmen pursuing it 'joomahs'. The *modus operandi* is as follows:—In the month of April a convenient piece of forest land is fixed upon, generally on a hill side, the luxuriant undergrowth of shrubs and creepers has to be cleared away, and the smaller trees felled. The trees of larger growth are usually donned of their lower branches, and left standing. If possible, however, the joomah fixes upon a slope thickly covered with a bamboo jungle of the species called 'dolloo'; this, compared with a dense tree jungle, is easy to cut, and its ashes, after burning, are of greater fertilizing power. Although the clearing of a patch of dense jungle is no doubt very severe labour, yet the surroundings of the laborer render his work pleasurable in comparison with the toilsome and dirty task of the cultivators of the plains. \* \* \*

"The joom land once cleared, the fallen jungle is left to dry in the sun, and in the month of May it is fired; this completes the clearing. The firing of the jooms is sometimes a source of danger, as at that season of the year the whole of the surrounding jungle is as dry as tinder, and easily catches fire. In this way sometimes whole villages are destroyed, and people have lost their lives. I have myself seen a whole mountain side on fire for four days and four nights, having been ignited by joom firing. It was a magnificent

"sight, but such a fire must cause incalculable injury to the forest; young trees especially would be utterly destroyed. Generally, however, by choosing a calm day, and keeping down the fire at the edges of the joom by beating with boughs, the hill people manage to keep the firing within certain prescribed limits. A general conflagration, such as I have described, is of quite exceptional occurrence. If the felled jungle has been thoroughly dried, and no rain has fallen since the joom was cut, this firing will reduce all, save the larger forest trees, to ashes, and burn the soil to the depth of an inch or two. The charred trees and logs previously cut down remain lying about the ground; these have to be dragged off the joom and piled up all round, and, with the addition of some brushwood, form a species of fence to keep out wild animals. Work is now at a standstill, till the gathering of heavy clouds and the grumbling of thunder denote the approach of the rains. These signs at once bring a village into a state of activity; men and women, boys and girls, each bind on the left hip a small basket filled with the mixed seeds of cotton, rice, melons, pumpkins, yams, and a little Indian-corn; each takes a 'dão' in hand, and in a short time every hillside will echo to the 'hoiya,' or hill call, (a cry like the Swiss jodel) as party answers party from the paths winding up each hill-side to their respective patches of cultivation. Arrived at the joom, the family will form a line, and steadily work their way across the field. A dig with the blunt square end of the dão makes a narrow hole about three inches deep. Into this is put a small handful of the mixed seeds, and the sowing is completed. If shortly afterwards the rain falls, they are fortunate, and have judged the time well; or (unparalleled luck!) if they get wet through with the rain as they are sowing, great will be the jollification on the return home, this being an omen that a bumper season may be expected.

"The village now is abandoned by every one, and the men set to work to build a house, each in his own joom, for the crop must be carefully watched to preserve it from the wild pig and deer, which would otherwise play havoc among the young shoots of the rice. The jooms of the whole village are generally situated in propinquity; a solitary joom is very rare. During the rains mutual help and assistance in weeding the crop is given; each one takes his turn to help in his neighbour's joom; no hoeing is done; the crop has merely to be

" kept clear from weeds by hand labor, and an ample return  
" is obtained. If the rain be excessive, however, the cotton  
" crop is liable to be spoilt, as the young plants die from too  
" much water. The first thing to ripen is Indian-corn ; this is  
" about the end of July. Next come the melons, of which there  
" are two or three sorts grown in the jooms ; afterwards vege-  
" tables of all sorts become fit for gathering ; and finally, in  
" September, the rice and other grain ripens. At this time the  
" monkeys and jungle fowl are the chief enemies of the crop.  
" In the month of October the cotton crop is gathered last of  
" all, and this concludes the harvest. The rice having been  
" cut, is beaten from the ear in the joom ; it is afterwards rolled  
" up in rough straw-covered bales, and carried to the granary  
" in the village. The country suffers sometimes severely from  
" the visitations of rats. They arrive in swarms, and sweep  
" everything before them ; they eat the standing corn and  
" empty the granaries of the hill people—nothing stops them.  
" \* \* \* "Throughout the whole of the hill tracts I know  
" of no single instance of a hillman cultivating with the  
" plough ; indeed, it is rare to find a man earning his livelihood  
" in any other way save by joom culture."

The four principal rivers which flow from among the eastern hills through the district of Chittagong are the Fenny, the Kurnafoolee, the Sungoo, and the Matamoree, and their banks in the upper part of their course, and the banks of their tributaries, are inhabited, like the low outer ranges of the hills, by Joomeeah Mugh, a peaceful race of people of Aracanese origin, who are of a totally different type from the wild tribes of the interior. To the north of the Kurnafoolee or Chittagong river, the outer hills are chiefly inhabited by the Chukmas, the subjects of the Kalindee Ranee, a people of different origin from the Joomeeah Mugh, but equally peaceable in their habits. The Kalindee Raní, like the Bohmong and the Mong Rajas, the two chiefs of the Joomeeah Mugh, receives a capitation tax from her subjects at a certain fixed rate, and pays a small annual revenue to Government.

The history of our connection with these people is very clearly stated by Sir Henry Ricketts, who, in 1847, reported as follows :—"As far as I can discover from the letter books  
" of this and the Magistrate's Office, there is no information  
" on the records of Government from which the nature of  
" the country, to the east-south-east of the settled part of the



“ Chittagong district, which has suffered from the aggressions  
 “ of the hill tribes and the condition of its inhabitants, can  
 “ be learned ; it is necessary therefore that I should give a  
 “ short sketch of both, in order to make the present state  
 “ of affairs intelligible. To the east and south-east of the open  
 “ country there is a tract of hill and forest about 140 miles  
 “ from North to South, and about, on an average, 50 miles wide,  
 “ known as the ‘ Kupas’ or cotton mehal.

“ When we took possession of Chittagong, we found two  
 “ Mugh chieftains located in this forest, Raja Jan Buksh Khan,  
 “ whose residence is thirty-six miles east-north-east, and Chow-  
 “ dry Kumla Phroo, whose residence is thirty-two miles east-  
 “ south-east from Chittagong. Other village or forest chiefs pay  
 “ revenue to Government direct, but they have no influence.  
 “ We can find no papers of an earlier date than 1789. It  
 “ would appear that previous to that date the revenue paid by  
 “ the Rajas and others was received in cotton through a con-  
 “ tractor who enjoyed a monopoly of the produce. On the  
 “ 29th May 1789, Mr. Harris the Collector writes to the Board  
 “ of Trade and recommends that the monopoly of the hill  
 “ cotton in the hands of the contractor should be abolished,  
 “ and ‘ that settlement should be made direct with the Joomeeahs  
 “ or Zemindars, who are fixed both by their habitations and  
 “ habits, and have claims somewhat hereditary to the places  
 “ or districts they live in.’ Though the tribes wander,  
 “ the Mugh chiefs have, as here stated, for many years had  
 “ fixed places of residence. The Collector also says :—‘ Each dis-  
 “ trict has from time immemorial been estimated at so many  
 “ ‘ maunds of cotton, and the jooms or ryots pay their rents, not  
 “ ‘ by the quantity of ground each cultivates, but by capitation,  
 “ ‘ so much each head of a family or each man that is married,  
 “ ‘ when, and not before, he is considered liable to the tax.’

“ The orders of Government, dated 15th June 1789, direct  
 “ that the office of contractor for the hill cotton should be  
 “ forthwith abolished, and that, instead of receiving the rents  
 “ from the hill people in cotton, the Collector should fix a  
 “ moderate jumma payable in money by the Joomeeahs or Zemin-  
 “ dars for their respective districts, and assure them that upon  
 “ their discharging the same with regularity, no increase should  
 “ be demanded.

“ On the 27th July 1792, the Collector reported the settle-  
 “ ments made under these orders for 1797 and 1798, being the

“first two years of the decennial settlement. In these settlements Jan Buksh Khan is assessed at Rs. 1,851, and Satung Phroo (son of Kumla Phroo, the chief mentioned above,) at Rs. 731 in 1197, and Rs. 703 in 1198. Several other small assessments made the total revenue of the Kupas Mchal in 1197, Rs. 5,381, in 1198, Rs. 5,703-13.”

This was the origin of our connection with the Chittagong hillmen, and to the present day the only clans who can be considered our subjects, or directly entitled to claim our protection, are those which acknowledge the authority of the three hill chiefs who pay us a nominal revenue. Of these the Bohmong Kumlunguio is grandson of Chowdry Kumla Phroo, and the Kalindee Raní, chief of the Chukinas, represents the family of Jan Buksh Khan, while the position of the Mong Raja—the only other hill chief with whom any large number of settlements has been made—is modern and of our own creation.

In speaking of the “Kupas Mchal” as being a tract of country, Sir Henry Ricketts was inaccurate; for, in reality, it was and is an estate consisting of the right to receive capitation tax directly or through their chiefs from a certain number of Joomeeahs, and these Joomeeahs are to be found in the Seetakoond range, and in other hills throughout the Zillah of Chittagong as well as on the eastern frontier; and the Bohmong having obtained a settlement for all tenures under the Kupas Mchal, situated south of the Kurnafoclee, receives capitation tax from Joomeeahs in the Thannas of Ramoo and Teknaaf and elsewhere within the zillah, as well as in the hill tracts.

Things continued on the footing indicated above till the year 1860. We received from the hill chiefs a trifling yearly revenue, but took no direct part in the protection or government of the hill people. Act XXII of 1860 changed all this. The hill tracts of Chittagong were then removed from the jurisdiction of the Zillah Court, and constituted a separate Non-Regulation District under a European Superintendent, who, in 1867, was made a Deputy Commissioner. So long ago as the year 1847, Sir Henry Ricketts recommended that these hills should be exempted from the Bengal Regulations, and there is little doubt that if the Government of the day had followed his advice, the necessity for a special Superintendent would soon have been felt, and we should now be some ten years ahead of our actual position in the attempt to control the Kookce and Shindoo tribes, who give us so much trouble, and ten years nearer

that inevitable day when our influence, if not our authority, shall extend beyond the hills which we now know, into the valley of the Irrawaddy.

Captain Lewin's account of his district is divided into three parts. In the first he describes its physical features, and gives a slight sketch of the nature and history of our administration. In the second part he gives an account of the Chukmas and of the people of Aracanese origin who inhabit the outer ranges of the hills, and who are generally known as Joomeeah Mughs, though he prefers to call them Khoungtha,\*—the name usually given to a branch of the same race who are found in Upper Aracan. The third chapter is devoted to the wild tribes of the interior, whom Captain Lewin calls Toungtha or hill men, and as it is convenient to have some one word by which they can be collectively denoted, we shall adopt his name, though we are doubtful whether it is used in Aracan or elsewhere, except, perhaps, in such a general sense as we give in English to the term hill people. To the whole is appended a vocabulary of a hundred and eighty words in eleven different hill dialects.

It is unnecessary to dwell on Captain Lewin's general description of his district, as enough has been said above to give some idea of its character; but we must consider somewhat in detail his account of the various tribes who inhabit it, before turning to the interesting political questions which his little book suggests.

With regard to the name "Mugh," Captain Lewin follows Sir Arthur Phayre in saying that it properly belongs only to the Mughs of the plains of Chittagong who call themselves Burooas or Rajbansis, and who are well known all over Bengal as cooks. There is great reason, however, to think that Sir Arthur Phayre was wrong on this point, for the Burooas, equally with the Rakhingtha, or people of Aracan, repudiate the name Mugh, and it is to the people of Aracan that it has always been applied by the natives of India who use it. Thus Tavernier, in describing the coinage of the king of Aracan, says:—"In all Bengala this king "is known by no other name but the king of Mogue," and at the present day the name Mugh is applied to the Aracanese traders who come up the river to Ruugpore for silk and tobacco, as well as to Burooa cooks. The origin of the word is unknown.

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\* "Khyoung," as Captain Lewin says, means a river or rather a stream, and "Toung," a hill; but the syllable "tha" is a simple adjectival affix.

Hodgson, in one of his papers on the Indo-Chinese borderers, says:—"The term Mugh is applied by the people of India to the Aracanese. It is exclusively a foreign epithet, unknown to the Aracanese themselves. It probably takes its origin from the tradition of a tribe of Brahmans termed Magas, said to have emigrated eastward from Bengal."

For our own part we are inclined to conjecture that in the name Mugh the remains of important historical events may be traced. It appears to be recognized as a fact that the great Buddhist Kingdom of Magada extended in the zenith of its power as far eastward as Aracan, and its influence must have reached much further, as it has given an alphabet to the whole Burmese race, and a religion not only to them but to all those more eastern nations whose Buddhism reached them through Burmah; and it seems not improbable that the Kingdom of Aracan or "Mogue" was a fragment of that great empire which was preserved from conquest by its remote and inaccessible position, and which retained in the mouths of its Brahmanical enemies the hated name of Magada, much in the same way as the name Roum and the modern province Roumania are a record to the present day of the former greatness of the imperial city. And, without venturing to lay much stress on a mere guess of this kind, we cannot but see that there are several circumstances which tend to make it probable.

For instance, our supposition, if true, would explain the curious way in which the Aracanese annalists mix up the history of their own country with that of Benares, and other places situated far to the West; and it would explain, too, the fact that when "Turboomah, principal of the Burmese," wrote to the Chief of Chittagong in 1787 to justify his invasion of Aracan, he thought it relevant to his purpose to say that in Magada, among other places, there were formerly "eaters of the flesh of man,"\* and "wickedness prevailed amongst them, so that no man relied on his neighbours," till Buddha Dutta or Sceryboat Thakoor "came down in the country of Aracan, and instructed the

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\* In some parts of India it is popularly believed at the present day that the Mughhs are cannibals, who delight in feasting on the floating corpses as they come up the Gauges. In Behar a story is current, to the effect that some Mughhs who once came to worship at the sacred city of Budh Gya, made great but ineffectual efforts to get hold of some man of the Sonar caste whom they might sacrifice and eat.

“people and the beasts of the field in the principles of religion and rectitude; and agreeably to his word, the country was governed for a period of five thousand years, so that peace and goodwill subsisted among them.” Moreover, the supposition that a fragment of the Magada kingdom may have preserved its independence in the extreme east derives a certain amount of probability from the facts that the Magada religion survives there to the present day, and that though the inscriptions which have been found relating to the Pal Dynasty of Bengal claim for them the empire of all India, yet the earliest of them expressly mentions the Megua as the eastern limit of their dominions.

All this, however, is a digression, and we must return to Captain Lewin's account of the Joomeeah Mughs or Khyoungtha. They are a Buddhist people of Aracanese origin who live, as their name implies, by joom cultivation among the hills. Captain Lewin says that they speak the ancient Aracanese dialect, and there may, perhaps, be some among them regarding whom his statement is correct, but it is our own experience, and, as we learn, that of others who have had large opportunities of mixing with them, that they speak a sort of mongrel Bengali. Regarding their history, too, he makes a very curious mistake; for they have undoubtedly occupied the country which they now inhabit from time immemorial, and when he speaks of them as having fled across the border into our territory after the Burmese invasion of Aracan, he confuses them with the Rakhoingtha of the plains, large numbers of whom towards the end of the last century took refuge in the southern part of the Chittagong District, where land was granted to them by Government in Thannas Ramoo and Teknaaf, the officer chiefly employed in making these settlements being Captain Cox, from whom the town of Cox's Bazar derived its name.

The Khyoungtha have without doubt lived in these hills ever since the time when Chittagong was a province of Aracan, and it is difficult to guess how Captain Lewin was led into the error above referred to, as he must often have had an opportunity of conversing with the descendants of the men who really came from Aracan after 1784, and whose turbulent conduct brought on the first Burmese war. Nor is this all. At page 54, Captain Lewin tells us that the Bohmong Raja, when he had concluded a singular story about a magician who assisted the king of Burmah to conquer Aracan, added:—“Then came the king of

"Burmah with an army and took Aracan, and our king was killed, and my grandfather took the tribe and fled away into the Chittagong hills, but to this day the charm of the wise man prevails, and we are not so brave as formerly, and wear our hair in a knot at the back of the head." Now we find it impossible to believe that the Bohmong really said this. His meaning must have been misunderstood, for he knows very well, and for that matter Captain Lewin might easily have known too, that when Chittagong came into our hands, twenty-three years before the Burmese invasion of Aracan, his grandfather Kumla Pluroo was quietly living at Bundrabun, where his forefathers had lived for many generations, and where his grandson lives to the present day.

With regard to the Chukmas—the subjects of the Kalindee Rani—a Buddhist but Bengali-speaking race, who inhabit the lower hills to the north of the Kurnasfolee, it is probably safe to adopt Mr. Hodgson's opinion that they are aborigines. At all events, there appear to be no grounds whatever for Captain Lewin's conjecture that they "have been at one time inhabitants of the province of Aracan, from whence they have migrated to these hills." It is true that they belonged to Aracan, but that was because Aracan included Chittagong. Other clans of the same race are found in Aracan; and it is evident that they occupied at one time a comparatively important position, for Vincent Leblanc, writing about the year 1660, says that the king of Aracan was called "King of Aracan, Tiparet, Chacomar, Bengale, and Pegu," and no one at the present day would think of mentioning the Chukmas among the constituent parts of a powerful empire. The same fact appears from the passages quoted at page 65 from the "*Rodzawong*," or history of the Aracan kings. These annals would also seem to confirm the opinion that the Chukmas are aborigines, for, as Captain Lewin says:—"It is there written that Kau-mysing, the son of the king of Baranathi,\* having been assigned by his father, as heritage, all the country inhabited by the Burman, Shan, and Malay races, came to Ramawati, the ancient capital of Aracan, near the modern town of Sandoway. He there collected men from the different countries of Western Hindustan, knowing a variety of languages. They then asking for subsistence—to the first

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\* Benares.

"who so applied he gave the name of Thek\*; and their "language being different from the rest, they lived separate." From this and other facts mentioned by Captain Lewin, it appears that the Chukmas, like the Tipperahs and Munipuris, claim for themselves a Western origin, and the fact that they are spoken of as using a different language from the other people of Aracan, and as being first provided for, would seem to point to the supposition that they were a distinct race of early settlers, or, as we somewhat loosely say, aborigines. One of the most noticeable points about this people is the fact that they bear Hindu and Mahomedan names indiscriminately. Thus we find among them Nil Chunder and Hurish Chunder, as well as Jubber Khan, Jan Bux Khan, and Shere Dowlut. To explain this and other facts regarding them, more accurate enquiry would be necessary than appears to have been yet made.

Captain Lewin's third chapter is devoted to the Tougtha, or wild tribes of the interior, among whom he includes the Tipperahs. "These tribes," he says, "are in every respect wilder "than the Khyongtha; they are more purely savages, and "unamenable to the lures of civilization. \* \* \* \*

"The Tougtha are distinguished from the Khyongtha in "many ways. Their villages are, generally speaking, situated on "lofty hills and in places difficult of access. The men wear "hardly any clothes at all, and the petticoat of the women "is scanty, reaching barely below the knee, while their bosoms "are left uncovered after the birth of the first child; previous "to that the unmarried girls wear a narrow breast-cloth. "Both men and women are much given to dancing together. "The women do not hold so high a position among them "as among the Khyongtha, and upon them falls the "greater part of the labour of life. Their religion is simple; "it is the religion of nature. They worship the terrene "elements, and have vague and undefined ideas of some divine "power which overshadows all. They are born and they die, "for ends to them as incomputable as the path of a cannon-shot "fired into the darkness. They are cruel, and attach but little "value to life. Reverence or respect are emotions unknown to "them; they salute neither their Chiefs nor their elders; no form "of greeting exists in their many tongues; neither have they any "expression conveying thanks. The mainsprings of their existence

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\* Or *Chukma*.

"are hunger, fear, and that sexual impulse which is common  
 "to every mere proletarian animal. \*

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"They pay no revenue to their chief, but he is entitled to  
 "receive from each house yearly one basket of rice and one jar of  
 "seepah (fermented drink) ; his share also of the spoils of war is  
 "the largest. Each village is a small state, owning fealty and  
 "allegiance to no one save their own special leader. A man  
 "may leave one Chief and transfer himself and his family to the  
 "village of another ; hence it happens that the power of the  
 "different chiefs, which depends on the size of their respective  
 "villages, varies considerably from time to time according to  
 "their success or popularity."

The Tipperahs, † who are to be found in the Hill Tracts, and in some hilly parts of the Chittagong District, are all stragglers from the neighbouring independent kingdom, which they have been induced to leave chiefly on account of the oppressive exactions to which the people are there subjected. They speak a language quite distinct from that of the Kookies, from whom they also differ considerably in habits and appearance. They live, however, like the other hill tribes by jooming. Besides the Tipperahs proper, there are among the Raja's subjects several Kookie tribes, as well as a considerable number of Manipuris and Bengalis, the only written language in use being Manipuri in Bengali characters. The country is governed by a Hindu oligarchy, who are apparently of a different race as well as of a different religion from the people generally. The kingdom at one time extended far into the plains, and the ruins at its ancient capital Oodeypore (from which the Rajas have moved their residence to old Agurtollah, and thence to new Agurtollah or Howli) would in themselves be sufficient evidence to prove that its wealth and power were considerable. The origin of this state is lost in the mist of antiquity, but its first king is said to have been Asango, ancestor of Trilochun, who is mentioned in the Mahábhárat as the Raja of Tipperah. Regarding

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\* We cannot pretend to say what a "mere proletarian animal" is, but if the class includes all those to whom sexual desire is common, it must be a large one.

† We use this word in its popular sense. Properly speaking, Tipperah is the name of the old Hindu kingdom which has been driven up among the hills, and Mroong is apparently the name of the people whom we call Tipperahs.



its history in later times, we learn that "on the conquest of Bengal by the Mohammedans in A. D. 1204, the government of the eastern districts was confined to Cazis, who resided at Bikrampore, Sabar and Sonergong. The most celebrated of these religious rulers was Pir Adam, who governed at Bikrampore, where it would appear he made himself notorious by his persecution and bigotry. At a subsequent period, viceroys were appointed, and the first person that is mentioned as exercising the authority of one in this part of the country is Sultan Addeen Toghril. In 1279 this governor marched an army into Tipperah, from whence he returned with considerable booty, comprising treasure and elephants, but afterwards taking up arms against Balim, whose slave he had been, he was pursued by that Emperor to Sonergong, where, in attempting to make his escape, he was slain by an officer of the imperial army."

And again:—"About the end of the sixteenth century, and close of the Shere Shah dynasty, which succeeded to that of the independent kings of Bengal, the country in the vicinity of Dacca appears to have been divided into a number of petty states which were dignified with the title of kingdoms. Tipperah then formed, as it does partly at the present day, an independent territory, the Rajas of which, who were originally subject to the kings of Aracan, were styled Manick, while the nobles bore the title of Narain."\* An official report with which we have met carries on the history as follows:—"About 1620 A. D., in the reign of Jehangir, a Mogul force, ostensibly with the object of procuring horses and elephants, invaded Tipura under the command of Nawab Fath Jung. The capital (Oodypore) was taken, and the Raja sent prisoner to Delhi. He was offered his throne again on condition of paying tribute, but refused. Meanwhile the Mogul troops continued to hold the country in military occupation of the most cruel kind, until after two and a half years they were forced by an epidemic to leave the country. The Emperor of Delhi reiterated his claim to tribute, when Kalyan Manik was raised to the throne in 1625, and attempted to enforce his claim through the Nawab of Moorshedabad, who again invaded Tipperah. He was, however, defeated. The Moguls still continued to intrigue with the discontented spirits in Tipperah, and their influence is known by the fact that

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\* *Taylor's Dacca.*

“ when, in the reign of Raja Ratna Manik, the heir (jubraj) “ became obnoxious from his cruelty, Shaista Khan, Nawab of “ Bengal, took him prisoner and sent him off to Delhi. Again “ two usurpers successively owed the throne to the changing “ favor of the Moguls, and on the succession of Dharma Manik “ the Nawab of Moorshedabad seized on a large portion of the “ territory in the plains, and parcelled it out to Mussulman nobles.

“ In 1739 A. D. the Nawab of Dacca placed Jagat Rama on the “ throne of Tipperah, a large body of Mussulman troops were posted “ in the country, and the name of the capital changed to Roshana- “ bad. The next few years produced several changes of rulers, “ but the Mussulman at Moorshedabad seems always to have “ remained the motive power. At last, when Bijaya Manik “ was appointed Raja, still by the Nawab, he was only allowed “ a monthly stipend, and compelled to send all the revenue of “ the Raj to Moorshedabad, and falling into arrears was sent “ prisoner to Delhi, where he died. Thus Tipperah became “ really a Mogul province, and Shamsher Jung (a Mussulman) “ was appointed Governor. The people, however, refused to “ obey him, and to conciliate them he set up a puppet Raja “ of the old royal family. He failed in his object, and had to em- “ ploy coercion. He kept the people down with the strong hand, “ till his oppression grew so crying that the Nawab had him “ blown from the mouth of a gun. Krishna Manik succeeded, “ but, apparently, did not prove submissive enough, for the “ Moguls had again to enforce their supremacy by military “ power. On the death of Krishna, anarchy prevailed for five “ years, the Kookies being called in by one of the parties con- “ tending for the *guddee*. “ Ultimately, in 1808, the English “ Government recognized Durga Manik as Raja, and since then “ every successive Raja has received investiture from the Bri- “ tish Government, and is required to pay the usual nuzzur on “ his accession.”

The peculiar feature of the Raja's position at the present day is that he holds extensive zemindaries within the British district of Tipperah, which are, in fact, by far the most profitable part of his possessions. They are considered part of the Raj, and the decisions given respecting them in our courts are held to govern the succession to the throne of the independent kingdom ; and it thus happens that though the reigning Raja is not subject to our rule, or even bound to us by any treaty, his right to the *guddee* has lately been tried and affirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Of the religion received among the Tipperahs generally, little, we believe, is accurately known, and Captain Lewin does not mention the peculiarities in the ruined temple at Oodeypore, which led him to the conclusion that the worship of the Sun "formed part of the *cultus* of Hill Tipperah." He remarks on the prevalence of intemperate habits among this people, and the love of drinking would appear to be an inherited characteristic, for Tavernier, as rendered in an old English translation, says:—"If all the natives of the kingdom, of Tipra were like the two merchants whom I met at Patna, I dare affirm them to be notable toppers, for they never refused whatever strong liquor I gave them, and never left till all was out; and when I told them by my interpreter that all my wine was gone, they clapt their hands upon their stomachs and sighed."

Of the other tribes included among the Totingtha the Mrus have been driven into their present position in the Chittagong hills by the Kurnis, a more warlike people, who were themselves urged on by the pressure of more powerful races lying further north and east. Both these tribes have long been known on the Aracan side, and the traditions and annals of the Rakhoingtha represent them as having preceded them in the occupation of the country. They speak separate languages, the vocabularies of which, as given by Captain Lewin, would appear to resemble the Khyeng tongue in a good many words.

The Bunjogis and Pankhos are two comparatively small tribes, evidently of cognate origin with the Kookies of the North. That they are so, appears both from their traditions and from the close similarity of the three vocabularies, but Captain Lewin does not mention whether, like the Kookies, they build their houses of logs, or, like the other hillmen, of bamboos. The Bunjogis are no doubt the people spoken of by Colonel Phayre as Boungju or Boungjwé, and we should be inclined to think that the Pankhos, rather than the Lhoosai, should be identified with Colonel Phayre's Langkhés. Both these tribes are now subjects of the Bohmong, and this entirely agrees with the statement of Colonel Phayre's informant that they were originally separate tribes who had been conquered and reduced to slavery by a third. These tribes, though small, are of considerable importance to us, for it appears that at one time they used to pay tribute to some of the Kookie chiefs of the North, who consider themselves still entitled to receive it; and this

fact may help to explain some of the raids committed both by them and upon them. Of the Khyengs nothing need be said, as they live far beyond our frontier, and have really nothing to do with the Chittagong hills. The Shindoos, too, it is hardly necessary to mention, as their country lies to the east of the Koladyne River from the mouth of the Sulla Kheong northwards, and though they are constantly at war with our neighbours the Kookies, those in the best position for judging now seem to agree that the supposed Shindoo raids on our territory have all along been the work of the Howlongs and other Kookie tribes, who gladly threw the blame on their dreaded enemies. It seems strange at first that such a mistake as this should be possible; but as far as we can learn, nothing worthy of being dignified with the name of a fact bearing on the subject of the Kookie raids has been elicited within the last three or four years.

Captain Lewin's identification of the Kookies on the Chittagong frontier with the Lhoosais, a Kookie tribe well known on the Cachar side, is also, as far as we can learn, incorrect. In Tipperah, where the tribes both of the North and of the South are known, it is believed that the Lhoosai Kookies live to the north, and the Simshai to the south of the range of mountains which runs from east to west a little below Lat.  $23^{\circ} 48'$ , and separates, as Captain Lewin tells us, the head waters of the Borak and its tributaries from those of the Goomtee, the Fenny and the Kurnafoolee. When the Lhoosais were first known in Cachar, they were divided into four clans, under the chiefs Lal Invoom, Lal Savoon, Mongpur and Beuta. Lal Invoom's son was Moolla, whose village was burnt by Colonel Lister's expedition. Both he and his son Vonpi Lal are now dead, and the son of the latter, Lal Hai, is an infant. Among Lal Savoon's sons Voni Lal is alive and has several sons of his own. Lal Poong, another son of Lal Savoon, is dead, and has been succeeded by his son Poiboi, whose brother Lal Roon came down on Nowarbund last year. Mongpur's son was Sukpi Lal, whose clan committed the recent raid upon Sylhet. Regarding Beuta's family we have no information. Now the villages of these clans lie far further north than Ruttunpooya or the situation assigned to the Howlongs, and apparently they are the only tribes to which the name Lhoosai can be properly applied. It may be the case that the name Sylloo, which is given to one of the tribes best known on the Chittagong side, is the same as Lhoosai; but if this be the case, it is an additional

proof that the clans which are distinguished from the Syloos are not Lhoosais. Nor is this a mere question of words, for the notion that the Lhoosais of Cachar and the people so called in Chittagong are the same tribe, has, without doubt, perceptibly influenced the policy of Government in dealing with them. We are aware that the Cachar authorities, in order to reconcile the Chittagong account of the Lhoosais with what they know of them, have identified Bandoola, chief of the Howlongs, with Vano Lal, and come to the conclusion that the real position of his village is far north of that assigned to it on the map, but the simplest explanation of the difficulty is the supposition, for which there is independent ground, that most, at all events, of the Kookies on the Chittagong frontier are not Lhoosais at all, but a different branch of the same race.

A detailed examination of Captain Lewin's vocabularies is of course impossible to any one who has not devoted himself to the study of the hill dialects; but there are one or two points to which we may call attention.

In the first place it appears that the Khyeng vocabulary is taken from Sir A. Phayre's lists, given in Hodgson's paper on the Chinese borderers in vol. xxii. of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*; and we think that Captain Lewin should have mentioned this, both because he has mentioned his obligations to Colonel Phayre in other cases, and might therefore be fairly understood to claim the rest as his own, and more especially because the Kyeng dialect of Chittagong may differ as much from that of Aracan as Captain Lewin's Kumi does from Colonel Phayre's Kumi and Kami, or as Captain Lewin's Mru does from that of Colonel Phayre. These differences are quite as great as those between Captain Lewin's Bungoji, Pankho and Lhoosai, and these three would seem to be dialects of one language. We believe that the word "beyng" given as the Lhoosai for "ear" in reality means "cheek," and that "ahla" given with the meaning "sky" really means the "moon," the word for "sky" being "van"; and there are no doubt other such mistakes which might be detected by a competent critic; but to collect the materials for a vocabulary correctly from utter savages is a work of great difficulty, and in fact a certain number of mistakes must inevitably be made whenever the compiler has not the advantage of knowing something of the language concerning which he is enquiring. We cannot but think, however, that in the case of vocabularies printed by Government or any Society

professing to furnish accurate information, it should be made incumbent on the compilers to state when and how they have procured their materials in order to furnish an approximate mode of estimating their probable correctness.

We have now done with detailed criticism; but before turning to questions of general policy, we must add that Captain Lewin's little book is not, in our judgment, sufficiently accurate and systematic to be of much use to either ethnologists or administrators, but that if it were published, it would have a value of its own\* as a picture, tinted no doubt with rose color, but still a not inaccurate picture of the daily life and domestic surroundings of an Indian hillman; and the very points which seem to us defects, the rash judgment which suggests a road across the hills to China, and the imaginative style which makes it impossible to rely on the verbal accuracy of the stories which he repeats, are those most likely to win for Captain Lewin the approval of English readers. It is much easier, too, to criticise than laboriously to collect original facts, and great indulgence should be shown to the work of a man who, though apparently not an accurate enquirer, yet evidently possesses in a high degree that receptivity of new moral ideas which is perhaps the most valuable quality in one who has to deal with uncivilized races of men.

The administration of frontier provinces is almost always surrounded by peculiar difficulties, and Chittagong is no exception to the general rule. An officer only accustomed to long-settled and fully-cultivated districts finds it hard at first to realize the fact that there is, and can be, no rigidly defined boundary to our territory or even to the Zillah of Chittagong, and his preconceived ideas receive a rude shock when first he hears of a taluq consisting not of land but of men. Yet even within the zillah the worst consequences would follow if the locally indefinite character of many of the tenures were to be ignored. Nothing could tend more to produce a state of insecurity and disaffection, and to intensify that disbelief in the justice of our laws which has made this district proverbially litigious,\* than a revival of the "search for concealed lands"

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\* This sounds like a paradox, but it is a sober fact. Litigation is a Chittagong man's chief amusement, and he looks on it as a game, the result of which depends chiefly on chance, but may be sometimes influenced by dexterous management. As a game, therefore, it has every element of interest.

to which Sir Henry Ricketts twenty years ago hoped that he had put a stop for ever ; and such a revival can only be avoided by a recognition of the principle that rigid measurements and assessments are inapplicable to such a district as Chittagong.

Within the zillah, too, as well as in the hill tracts, the rights of Joomeeahs are very often misunderstood, or altogether overlooked. Men accustomed to deal only with clearly-defined estates not unfrequently fail to see that it is as great an injustice to turn out a Joomeeah whose forefathers have joomed from time immemorial over a certain range of hills, paying capitation tax for the privilege of doing so, as if he were the proprietor of a definite patch of land.

What we have said above naturally leads up to the question what our proper frontier on the east and north of the Hill Tracts is, and any one who has followed us will readily admit that in a country like this, where property in land is unknown except in the form of a right of jooming, our natural boundary is the limit of the tracts over which the rights of jooming of our subjects extends, our subjects being those who directly or through their chief pay us revenue, or otherwise acknowledge our supremacy. Accurately to mark out this boundary would be a most difficult and expensive, as well as a perfectly useless, undertaking, but beyond it we can only exercise authority by force of arms, though we can of course draw a red line on the map wherever we please. The question should always be who are our subjects, not what is our boundary. If any disputes between our subjects and independent tribes should come before us for decision, priority of occupancy should be considered conclusive evidence of right, but till this very improbable contingency occurs, the less we trouble ourselves about defining our boundary the better. We have no right to lavish the revenues of India on Utopian projects for the civilization of the world, and our only direct object, therefore, in dealing with the independent tribes should be the protection of our subjects, our frontier being allowed to advance gradually and naturally with the extension of our influence. The proposal at once to advance our frontier till it marches with what we consider that of Burmah, will, we trust, never be listened to by Government, but as it would probably be popular with a section of the irresponsible public, it is as well to point out that if this were prematurely done, we should find ourselves face to face with far more powerful tribes than any we have yet had to deal with, while we should have our present troublesome neighbours, the Kookies, to

harass us and cut off our supplies from the rear ; and all this danger and expense we should incur without any intelligible object whatever.

Upon the question what our proper frontier is, there seems to be really little room for difference of opinion, the only doubtful point being the particular stage at which our influence over any tribe, such as that of Ruttunpooya, should be considered so secure as to justify us in undertaking the duty of controlling and protecting it. But when we have decided what our frontier is, the far more difficult question remains—how are we to protect it ?

It is true that the importance of the Kookie raids which give us so much trouble, has been greatly exaggerated by almost every one who has written about them, but still the actual suffering and the feeling of insecurity which they produce among our subjects on the frontier is so great, that no effort and no reasonable expense should be spared to prevent their recurrence. A cyclone or a pestilence in a populous city may often cause more deaths in a single day than the whole number of persons killed or enslaved by Kookies on the Chittagong side since the year 1860, but storms and epidemics are beyond our control, while we could in a few years extirpate the whole race of independent Kookies, and Government would undoubtedly fail in its duty if it made no attempt to restrain them. The attempt has been made in various ways. Force was tried once, and was so far successful that since Major Raban's expedition in 1861 penetrated to the village of Ruttunpooya, that chief and his tribe have respected our territory. Since that time yearly presents, which Government calls police allowances, and its critics black-mail, have been made to the principal Kookie chiefs, in the hope of inducing them to protect our frontier, and in 1867-68 the Deputy Commissioner had interviews with the chiefs of the Howlong and Sylloo tribes, and they solemnly swore eternal friendship. Neither police allowances, however, nor oaths appear to have had much effect in restraining the Kookies, and during last cold weather an unusually extensive series of raids was committed on the Chittagong side, as well as in Cachar.

Under these circumstances, many persons have come to the conclusion that nothing but force is of any use in dealing with Kookies, and recommend that an expedition should be sent up into the hills to the stronghold of Bandoola, chief of the Howlongs ; and there can be little doubt that such an expedition,



bringing us, as it would, into direct contact with the Howlongs, would have the effect of inspiring that tribe with a wholesome dread of our power, and inducing them to respect our frontier. But in order to do this in a way which would preclude all danger of failure, it would be necessary to send a considerable number of men to the front with at least two guns; and the expense of either keeping open secure communications with our own territory, or of establishing a temporary base of operations in the hills, would be so enormous, that a Government whose duty it is to administer economically the affairs of many millions of men may well shrink from incurring it.

Our own opinion is that the policy which pacified the Rajmehal hills, and which the Bengal Government has for many years adopted, as far as possible, in its dealings with other wild tribes, might be so applied as to restrain the Kookies too. The *rationale* of the matter is very simple. It is this: When a wild race of men lies within our reach, it may be possible to keep them in order by brute force, but the process is very expensive, and when not absolutely unavoidable, must be repugnant to the humane feelings of at least a considerable section of every tolerably civilized community. But it is also possible to keep them in order by making ourselves necessary to them, or, in other words, by making them dependent upon us for a supply of something which they really want and highly value, and thereby leading them to feel that our displeasure would cause them real, practical injury; and this latter method has at all events the merit of cheapness, while at the same time it leaves room for the employment of various civilizing agencies, which it would be difficult to introduce at the bayonet's point.

These, however, are generalities, and in order to explain our meaning fully, it is necessary to give a short sketch of the present state of the hill tracts, and the measures which have already been adopted for the protection of the frontier.

Up to the year 1860, the government and protection of the Chittagong hills was left entirely to the local chiefs, the result being, as the Commissioner reported in that year, that the country was "totally ungoverned and unprotected, and the conduct "of its inhabitants, whether chiefs or their subordinates, entirely beyond the control of the nominal supervising authorities. The hill residents at their pleasure attacked the "Kookies, who retaliated, and *vice versa*; and in not one "single instance was punishment meted out to the offenders." In those days we knew nothing of what went on within

the hills, and it was only when the Kookies ventured down into the plains that we heard of their doings; this they have never done since 1860, the year of what is known as the "Great Kookie Invasion," in which fifteen villages were burnt, 185 British subjects murdered, and about 100 carried off as slaves.

In the following year Major Raban's expedition was sent into the hills as far as the village of Ruttunpooya, the Chief principally concerned in these atrocities, and since that time Ruttunpooya and his tribe have never violated our territory or openly abetted others in doing so. About the same time a special officer was appointed as Superintendent of Hill Tracts, and stockaded posts were established in the north of the district. The defence of the south, however, was still left principally to the Bohmong Raja, and affairs continued on this footing till the year 1866, when our police force was greatly strengthened, and we undertook the task of defending the whole frontier ourselves. The special steps which we have taken since 1860 for the protection of our subjects in the hills are as follows:—

1. We have made a yearly allowance to certain hill chiefs on condition of their preserving the peace on our frontier. It appears, however, that they care so little about our money that on some occasions they have not taken the trouble of sending for it.

2. We have entered into amicable agreements with Ruttunpooya, as well as with the Syloos and Howlongs. The promises of this last tribe, however, have not been kept.

3. It has been attempted to hold a yearly meeting of hill chiefs at Kasalong, but the principal chiefs have seldom attended.

4. A bazar has been established at Kasalong and one at Rungamuttea, as well as a stockade at the former place.

5. Police out-posts have been established at different points along the frontier within the last two or three years.

6. A vigorous effort has been lately made to prevent the exportation into the hills of guns and ammunition.

7. Besides this, different officers have visited Ruttunpooya's village, but, with this exception, and that of the unsuccessful attempt at yearly meetings, nothing has been done, or, as far as we know, could have been done in the way of personal intercourse with the Kookie chiefs.

The number of raids which have been committed on the Chittagong frontier since the year 1860 is as follows:—

In 1860	...	...	"The Kookie invasion."
" 1861	...	...	Two raids.
" 1862	...	...	None.

In 1863	...	... None.
" 1864	...	... Three.
" 1865	...	... Two.
" 1866	...	... Two.
" 1867	...	... One.
" 1868	...	... None.
" 1869	...	... Two.

And of these all which occurred between 1861 and 1866 are attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the Shindoos. On the whole, though the state of affairs has no doubt improved since the time when we knew and cared nothing about what went on in the hills, and when marauders used sometimes to venture into the plains, it cannot be said that the above results of direct administration are satisfactory, or that we have any reason to expect greater security for our frontier than it has hitherto enjoyed, unless some new measure be taken to produce it. In short, our policy has been excellent in its general principles, but feeble and inefficient in practice; and we cannot but think that its inefficiency has been chiefly due to the want of careful enquiry into the facts of the case.

For instance, we know that the raids upon our territory are made chiefly for the purpose of carrying off slaves, and that these slaves are generally bartered away to tribes living further east. We know, too, that, in one instance at least, captives from British Tipperah have ultimately found their way to Mandalay, and there been rescued from slavery by the British representative; but, as far as we can learn, it has never been thought necessary, in connection with these facts, to enquire into the statement of Mr. O'Donel, of the Survey Department, that a Burmese official living two days' journey beyond the range which bounds our territory, demands annually from each village of the Mru Khyengs one male or female slave. Yet surely it is only by enquiring into such points as these, and into the economic state and commercial relations of the hillmen, that we can ever hope to control them. If one Burmese official demands a tribute of slaves, we may feel pretty sure that others do the same, and if there is a forced demand for slaves on the eastern side of the hills, it will inevitably make itself felt on the western side, and we shall be but as men beating the air till we stop it. If Khyengs or Shindoos are compelled to pay a tribute of slaves, they will come down on the Kookies for the materials to satisfy the claim, and the Kookies in turn will come down on our peaceable subjects. This is at all events a matter

which should be enquired into, and if the barbarous practice on the part of the Burmese officials which Mr O'Donel's statement would indicate actually exists, our first step towards pacifying the tribes on our frontier must be to influence the Court of Mandalay towards the adoption of a less brutal mode of levying tribute.

Again, we know little or nothing of the political relations of the various wild tribes among themselves, and with the kingdom of Tipperah. We hear that certain independent Kookie chiefs claim some sort of tribute from the Bohmong's subjects, the Bunjogis, and year after year we find these people connected with raids, either as the object of attack, or as allies of the wild Kookies, and helping them to surprise Joomeeah villages; yet nothing appears to have been done towards investigating the grounds on which tribute is claimed from these Bunjogis, and negotiating, if possible, some sort of compromise. We believe, however, that Government is fully aware of the importance of controlling the relations of independent Tipperah with the Kookies; and it is said that the appointment of a British Agent at Agurtollah has been proposed. This proposal should undoubtedly be carried into effect; and if there were no other grounds on which to demand it, it would be sufficient to mention the fact that not only the "Kookie invasion" of 1860 but the Sylhet raids of 1862,—the only raids which occurred in the north between 1849 and 1863,—are clearly traceable to Tipperah influences.

The place attacked in 1862 was Chundrapara, with some neighbouring villages near the border of hill Tipperah, and many circumstances at the time suggested the suspicion that the attack was made with the complicity of the Raja, and it has since been distinctly ascertained that this was actually the case;\* that the Lhoosais were, in fact, called in to punish certain villages which had resisted the oppressive exactions of this barbarous little court.

But when all this has been done, when the demand for slaves in Burmah and the sinister influence of the degraded Tipperah Government have been stopped, and the claims of the wild Kookies on the Bohmong's subjects, as far as possible, appeased, much will still remain.

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\* Government may, perhaps, not be fully informed on this point. Our authority is Mr. Pratt, formerly District Superintendent of Police in Tipperah, who spent some weeks at Agurtollah, and there acquired much valuable information.

Our object is to establish commercial and personal intercourse with the wild tribes, and though we know that they are in want of salt, tobacco, and many other products of the plains, and that, like most savages, they are readily influenced by constant personal intercourse with a European, we can at present do nothing, because life is so unsafe among them that there is only one Kookie chief whose village or country a European can venture to enter, and even the Bengali traders, who occasionally venture further into the hills, do so with their hearts in their mouths, and can only trade on the most petty scale. The first thing we want then is something which will induce the Kookie chief to allow bazars to be established within their reach, and so far to lay aside their suspicions as to allow English officers to come and go among them. Now this, we believe, can be done by supplying them with guns and ammunition in exchange for elephants' tusks, wax, gurjon oil, or any other hill product which they may be able to offer. Kookies live to a great extent on animal food, for a supply of which they are dependent on their success in those hunting expeditions which form the great pleasure and business of their lives. Formerly their weapons in hunting were bows and arrows and spears, but of late they have learned the use of guns, which they value more than any other kind of property. If, therefore, we engaged to supply certain chiefs, as long as they behaved well, with a certain number of guns and a certain allowance of sulphur and saltpetre, we should have a very distinct and tangible hold upon them, which would probably be quite sufficient to restrain them from marauding in our territory if the demand for slaves in the East were once stopped. It is idle to talk of police allowances, and at the same time to strain every nerve to prevent the chiefs to whom we make them from procuring arms. If the Kookies are our enemies, black-mail is the right name for our presents to them, and the hope that they will ever lay aside their suspicions while we cut off their supplies of the thing which above all others they require, is, in our opinion, to the last degree irrational. Nor would there be any danger in the system which we recommend; for the only kind of offensive warfare practised by these Kookies consists in sneaking up to a village shortly before dawn, and at a given signal suddenly rushing in and spearing or cutting down all the male inhabitants. It is true that they carry guns with them, and when attacked, as they were in Sylhet last year, are ready to use them; but the only weapons used in the actual attack are daos and spears, and the chance of

our ever coming on a party red-handed after a raid, is too slight to be worth considering. Long before the news of an attack can be brought to a station, even a few miles off, the marauders have gone away homeward beyond hope of pursuit in the almost impenetrable forest. Our present policy, too, in stopping their supply of arms is one which must necessarily be to a great extent inefficient, for we command only one of the sources from which the Kookies can derive the supplies which they want. To the east they have all the tribes of Upper Burmah to deal with, and through them guns and ammunition will doubtless find their way from China or elsewhere. All we can do is to raise the price considerably, and the result will probably be more frequent raids on our territory for the purpose of carrying off slaves with which to trade with the Burmese. Undoubtedly, in the first instance, it would be very difficult to open direct communication with the chiefs of the more distant tribes; but if we offered them things which they really want and now find it difficult to procure, there can be little doubt that after a time they would be ready enough to have dealings with us.

In this way the principles which have proved so effective elsewhere might be applied to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. If the Kookie chiefs were once to become accustomed to what would seem to them an abundant supply of guns and ammunition, they would hardly willingly sacrifice it for the sake of the scanty and uncertain gains to be derived from an occasional raid upon our territory; and it seems not at all improbable that this policy, if steadily pursued for a few years, would disarm their suspicions, and make it possible for an English Officer to come personally into contact with them, and exercise an appreciable influence over their doings.

It would, of course, be necessary that the authorities of Akyab, Chittagong and Cachar should act in concert, and the system which we propose could hardly be carried out effectually without the appointment, as recommended above, of a British agent in Hill Tipperah, who should be empowered to control the relations between the Raja and the independent tribes to the east of his territory.

If it be the case that the so-called Shindoo raids have actually been committed by that people, our task will be more difficult; but it is very probable that the mere removal of an enforced demand for slaves in Burmah will in itself be enough to prevent the danger of our subjects being attacked by any tribes but those who immediately adjoin them.

Among the changes which have been made within the last few years in the internal administration of the Hill Tracts, one of the most important has been the introduction of the use of Aracanese in the courts. This is no doubt a step in the right direction, if it be not carried too far, for Aracanese seems to be a sort of *lingua franca* understood by some members of almost every hill tribe, and there may be some among the Joomeeah Mughhs who always use this language. At the same time, it would be a great mistake to exclude the use of Bengali, for this is the language of a large majority of the people with whom the Deputy Commissioner has to deal, whether they be Bengalis, Chukmas, or Joomeeahs. Apparently, the best rule would be that all orders and proceedings should be recorded in English, and all evidence in the language of the witness. The attempt, too, which has been made, as Captain Lewin tells us, to simplify the procedure of the courts and to discourage litigation by referring disputes to arbitration, might, in an unskilful hand, lead to a practical denial of justice altogether.

But this article will extend to too great a length if we dwell on such questions as these. We will, therefore, conclude with a few facts which will serve to exemplify the mischief which a little want of judgment may cause in a remote district, concerning which Government can generally command no information but such as the local officers think it necessary to furnish.

Captain Lewin in his first chapter describes in forcible language how "in these hills, as in Sonthalia, the crafty Bengallee Mahajuns" who supplied the Joomeeahs from time to time with money, had till lately been allowed to "wrest the law from its original intent, and turn it into an engine wherewith to reduce the people to a condition of slavery." Now this description, though rather highly coloured, has no doubt an element of truth in it. The Joomeeahs, like the peasantry throughout all those parts of India with which we are acquainted, have recourse to Mahajuns when bad seasons or unusual expenses of any kind make them feel the want of money, and these Mahajuns find peculiar facilities for extortion in dealing with a lazy, unbusiness-like people who know little or nothing of the practice of our courts.

The remedies for this state of things are, one would think, very simple. The registration of bonds on the excellent system introduced some years ago by Major Graham might be made compulsory. Facilities should be offered for registering payments, and a special degree of care should be exercised in

watching the officials employed in executing the decrees and serving the processes of the courts. The eloquent historian of the Santal War tells us what was done under somewhat similar circumstances in Santalia :—

“ Without recourse to pernicious and ineffectual usury laws, the abuses of the usurers were checked at the point where high interest passes into extortion. The Hindu money-lender might charge as high rates as he could get. But the law took care that the same debts should not be paid twice or thrice over as before, and the Courts were close at hand to force the fraudulent creditor to give receipts for the sums repaid him. False weights and measures were heavily visited, and for the first time in his history the Santal sold his harvest in the open market-place without the certainty of being cheated.”

The remedies which have been adopted in the Hill Tracts Captain Lewin describes as follows :—“ Latterly so many cases came before the Courts of a nature such that a permanent state of ill-feeling between the hill population and the Mahajuns was to be apprehended, that it was found necessary to limit both the amount of interest on a debt recoverable by law, and the time during which a decree might be allowed to remain unexecuted. Twelve per cent. per annum is now granted by the Courts, and on a decree being obtained, the creditor is compelled to enforce it at once.” Or, in other words, the Joomeeahs were suddenly shut off, as far as we could do it, from all hope of getting advances to work with in times of distress ; as it could hardly have been expected that Mahajuns would lend money to migratory hillmen at a lower rate of interest than they could secure from substantial traders in the plains,\* especially when they knew that in the event of a suit for the recovery of a debt becoming necessary, the decree must be executed at once, at a time perhaps when not a pice of it could be realized. No doubt it will be a most happy thing for the Joomeeahs if they ever acquire such careful and thrifty habits as may enable them to become independent of Mahajuns

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\* The prevailing rate of interest at Chittagong is so high that Dacca Mahajuns send money there for investment. Good bills are discounted at from 18 to 24 per cent. Money is lent on mortgage at from 18 to 24 per cent. Traders borrowing on personal security pay about the same rate. European merchants requiring temporary accommodation pay Rs. 1 per thousand per diem or 36½ per cent. per annum. Ryots borrowing, as Joomeeahs must, on personal security, pay from 37½ to 75 per cent.



altogether, but neither these habits, nor the capital necessary to go on with can be suddenly created. We are aware that the Deputy Commissioner has given advances for the supplies required by the police, and that an attempt has been made to induce hill chiefs to lend money at a reasonable rate of interest; but the advances made by Government can hardly supply all the wants of the country, and it is tolerably certain that though the hill-chiefs may for a moment lend money to Joomeeahs at 12 per cent., in order to please us, they will not permanently invest the little capital they possess in that unremunerative kind of enterprise, nor is it desirable that their subjects should be encouraged to remain in a state of lazy dependence by offering them loans at less than the natural rate of interest. We have only to add that, though there has been an indifferent season since the short-sighted measures described above were carried into effect, the consequences have not been, as might have been expected, tragical, only because the Mahajuns have outwitted us, and given the whole thing an air of farce by lending twenty or thirty rupees on bonds for a hundred, charging, no doubt, a little extra interest for the risk which they run.

Captain Lewin concludes by saying that what is wanted in these hills is not measures but a man, and he is so far right that constant personal intercourse is the only means by which the real wants of unfamiliar races can be discovered, or savages persuaded that their rulers are their friends; but in the hills, as well as in the plains, the first necessity for good government is a full comprehension of the great political discovery of modern times,—we mean a recognition of the principle that direct interference can produce but little permanent effect on the social and economical state of a people. All that the wisest ruler can do is carefully to study the facts he has to deal with, and remove here and there an obstacle to the operation of those general laws, under which the wants and desires of men dispose them to seek aid from their fellows and thereby tend to spread peace and good-will throughout the world.

## INDIAN ECONOMIC BOTANY AND GARDENING.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Punjab plants, comprising Botanical and Vernacular names, and uses of most of the trees, shrubs, and herbs of economical value growing within the Province.* By J. Lindsay Stewart, M.D., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., &c., Conservator of Forests, Punjab. Lahore, 1869.
2. *Pharmacopœia of India, prepared under the authority of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.* By Edward John Waring, M.D., Surgeon in Her Majesty's Indian Army, assisted by a Committee appointed for the purpose. London, 1868.
3. *A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India.* By T. A. C. Firminger, M.A., Chaplain, Bengal Establishment. Second Edition. Calcutta, 1869.

CONSIDERING the length of time that the English have been masters of India, they can hardly be congratulated on the extent or success of their efforts, either in making themselves acquainted with the vegetable productions of so noble a possession, or in utilizing and adding to them. Activity in the former direction, was indeed greater in times by-gone, than it has been of late. Indian Botanists of recent days can point to no such results of their labors as the *Plants of the Coromandel Coast* of Roxburgh, or the *Flora Indica* of the same author (semi-obsolete as the latter book has now become), the *Plantæ Asiaticæ Rariores* of Wallich, or the *Icones Plantarum Indiæ Orientalis* of Wight. And we fear that few private *Herbaria* are now being accumulated that can compare with the magnificent collections of Wallich, Wight, Hamilton, Jacquemont, Griffith, Royle, Falconer, Strachey, or Thomson. And this apparent suspension of activity is not because material is exhausted, for there are hundreds of Indian flowering plants that remain yet unfigured, while the systematic illustration or even enumeration of Indian *Cryptogams* in a separate publication has never been attempted, except in the subdivision of Ferns, where Major Beddome has in very excellent manner broken ground by the publication of his "*Ferns of Southern India.*" Another most interesting department of Botany, in which of late the French and Germans have been

pre-eminently busy, has, since Griffith died, received little attention from Indian Botanists. We refer to vegetable physiology and embryology, in which, as well as in the observation of the variations of individuals of particular species under domestication, and in varying conditions of life such as climate and soil, there are in India almost virgin fields open to any one who has the will and faculty to cultivate them. A wonderful example of what might be done in these fields is afforded by Mr. Darwin in his latest work, and the use that may be made of such observations by a skilful thinker is most happily illustrated by his wonderful hypothesis of *The Origin of Species*, of which the book just referred to contains the proof.

The late East India Company incurred the gratitude of all cultivators of Botanical Science by the munificent manner in which they encouraged both the accumulation of botanical material, and the illustration and distribution of the resulting collections. Without their aid, some of the great works which have just been enumerated could never have been published. The great desideratum for Indian Botany at present is the publication of a scientific and philosophical *Flora Indica*. This, one of the greatest of Indian Botanists, the late lamented Griffith, had set before himself as the crowning task of his life, but he died too soon even to begin it. Fourteen years ago, Doctors Hooker and Thomson issued the first volume of such a work, which, at the time of its publication, was noticed in the pages of this *Review*. Owing, however, to the ill-health of one of these distinguished Botanists, and to the pre-engagements of the other, no subsequent volumes have appeared, nor, we believe, is there any hope of any more ever appearing by the same authors,—a misfortune deeply deplored by all who are interested in Botany, either Indian or general. The completion of the *Flora Indica* in the manner in which it has been thus worthily commenced, is a work for which not only botanical talent and experience are essential requisites, but so also is the more gross element of money. The work is not one which can be crushed into a duodecimo, but would probably fill ten or a dozen goodly octavos. But as the pursuit of either Botanical or Zoological Science does not among us lead to much worldly wealth, we fear there are few men competent for the task who are also rich enough to afford to engage in the undertaking, involving, as it would, the necessity of years of unremitting labor, with access to extensive herbaria and good botanical libraries, besides the risk (necessarily considerable) of the

commercial non-success of the book when published. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely unreasonable to expect that something might be spared from the public purse, not only for the publication, but also for the illustration of the *Flora* of an empire which yields a revenue of well-nigh fifty millions a year. The Colonial *Floras* are now in course of publication under the auspices of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but the *Flora* of the greatest of all the British possessions remains represented, since the year 1855, by an introductory essay and half a volume of text. Without a *Flora*, the practical study of Botany by a European in India is beset by many difficulties which only a very considerable amount of enthusiasm can overcome, while to a native of the country it is next to impossible. It is true that even educated Bengalis have as yet shown little desire to acquaint themselves with either the physiology or classification of the plants of their native country. Botany forms, indeed, the subject of certain examinations in the Calcutta University course, but we have too good reason to fear that hardly one student has yet regarded it as other than a subject to be "passed in" and then forgotten for ever, the spontaneous intellectual activity of educated Bengal, where it has not direct reference to pudding, usually spending itself in metaphysics. It would be beyond the scope of this article to consider the value of the mental training likely to be derived from the practical pursuit of Botanical or Zoological studies. The subject has been sufficiently discussed of late in England, and with the result that in the English Universities and public schools completer arrangements than have heretofore prevailed are now being made for the teaching of these subjects.

In these days of competitive examinations, and of hard cramming in order to obtain places therein, a large proportion of the members of the various services land in India with a knowledge of the principles of botany sufficient to enable them to acquaint themselves with the plants around them, were the business of doing so more easy. The publication of a *Flora Indica* would speedily make it more easy; for in a few years local *Floras* would begin to be published by those more interested in the study. A few local lists, it is true, already exist scattered in the volumes of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and of the *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*, but these are by far too inaccessible, and we fear too meagre, for popular purposes. We venture to say that hardly one of the large number of

Europeans and Eurasians employed in public offices and in general business in this country, knows or cares in the least about plants botanically, and that few among them know or care much even about gardening. Yet in Britain, men in like walks of life often acquire a very high measure of scientific botanical knowledge, while numbers in the pursuit of gardening while away, innocently and profitably, many hours that might otherwise be spent in vicious indulgence. It were idle to begin to prove that pursuits such as these have civilising and elevating influences, and that they are therefore worthy of all encouragement. The man who would attempt to deny this in words would hardly be listened to, however much the modern policy of cheese-paring Utilitarianism, which withholds substantial aid from the dissemination of such knowledge, may find secret applauders.

It is, we fear, not uncommon to imagine that the vegetable products of a country can be to their full extent utilised without the aid of scientific knowledge as a guide. This we utterly deny, and we maintain, on the contrary, that the truest and surest foundation of economic botany lies in pure botany. Numerous examples can of course be quoted of the utilisation of products without the guidance of science. It needs very little guidance of any sort to fell and bring to market timber that is known by experience to be valuable, or bark that has been found to possess medicinal properties, or to collect gums or dye stuffs for which there is a demand. As long as supplies of articles already known in the market last, traders will manage their utilisation, but when supplies of particular articles begin to fail, or when, for other reasons, similar substances become *desiderata*, it falls to the man of science to show how the former calamity might have been averted, and how it may be mitigated by the provision of substitutes. A scientific observer alone has the means of following up the botanical analogies which may lead to the discovery of products akin in properties to those which have already got into use. As of races of men, so of those of plants, certain properties are characteristic; but the anatomical characters denoting alliance in plants are not so evident that he who runs may read them. An ordinary trader would not recognise the handsome *Cinchona* tree which yields the specific for malarious fever, as belonging to the same family with the humble straggling *Cephaelis* which yields *Ipecacuanha*, the best remedy for dysentery; nor would he see any impropriety in classing as nearly related to each other, because they have fleshy roots which in appearance are not readily distinguishable, the deadly *monk's hood*

which belongs to a family of which every Botanist knows all the members to be suspicious if not poisonous, and the *horse-radish*, which ranks with a group of which every single member is wholesome and anti-scorbutic. To many men engaged in the ordinary duties of official and mercantile life, the pursuits of pure science may seem but learned trifling, and of a nature calculated to disqualify and even incapacitate their followers for what are called practical matters, such as would come under the head of botanical economics, *e.g.*, forest conservancy. It is perfectly true that many who have worked in the abstruser departments of Botany, such as the study of the *cryptogams*, have not been men who would have taken kindly to the management of a forest division, or have entered with much zest into the question of the relative merits of different species of vegetable fibre as materials for the manufacture of cloth. These workers have their function in a different and higher sphere, and it is not proposed to insult the science to which they have chosen to devote themselves by making any apology for them. It is always unsafe to sneer at a scientific worker, because he may seem merely to be amusing himself with some curious trifle, for out of his quiet working a great discovery or invention may spring. A few years ago, Bunsen and Kirchhoff might in this spirit have been described as the inventors of a new kind of kaleidoscope, but who will care to sneer now at the wondrous new mode of chemical analysis which has been developed from such a seemingly childish origin! In spite of the prejudices we have referred to, it is, we believe, not the less true, that scientific acquirements in themselves do not, in fact, tend to make one who has to deal with vegetable products a worse practical man, or in other words a worse economic botanist. We have numerous examples of the contrary in such men, for instance, as Royle, who did more for the utilisation of Indian vegetable products than any other man, and who was, as his book on Himalayan Plants shows, a thorough botanist withal.

If one thinks of the varied character of our Indian possessions in respect of soil, climate, and physical conditions generally, it becomes a matter of astonishment that the list of articles derived from the vegetable kingdom exported from them remains still so limited. There were indeed many reasons for this state of things in times past, but when it is considered how the country has been of late opened by railways, and over how much wider an area than ever heretofore peace and good government now prevail, the number of vegetable products exported has not

increased as might have been expected. The axiom that "demand will create a supply" has but limited application to the trade relations of Europe and India. Cotton, jute, and such prominent articles, find a quick enough sale, but products that are little known, and especially such as are new to the home market, must be dealt with in accordance with a maxim the converse of that just quoted. Unless samples of such are persistently kept under the notice of the European merchant or consumer, and supplies are assured to him, he will rarely become a purchaser; and probably he can at first be induced to buy at all only at rates very much under real value. The capability of waiting for better results which capital gives, becomes therefore in some cases an absolute necessity. There may be reasons why private capitalists do not direct their attention to the products of a particular country; and where this is the case, it is the duty of the Government of that country to undertake to some extent their functions in respect of its undeveloped resources. The action of the New Zealand Government in respect of the flax indigenous to that colony (the produce of *Phormium tenax*) affords a good illustration of a policy which we conceive to be worthy of imitation. In 1856, we find the General Government offering "seven premiums, amounting in all to £4,000,—"the first or highest being £2,000, the second £1,000, and five "of £200 each,—to the person who shall, by some process of his "own invention, first produce from the *Phormium tenax*, or other "fibrous plant indigenous to New Zealand, one hundred tons of "merchandise,"—and we find the local Governments of Canterbury and Otago subsequently offering similar boons with like aims.

There is, indeed, a steady general demand for certain classes of raw materials in the marts of the West, though the particular *variety* may be undetermined, and it is in this indetermination that lies the opportunity for the introduction of new products. A supply of a fibre, a gum, or a dye-stuff, is a *desideratum*, but what fibres, gums, or dye-stuffs shall be chosen, may often be determined by what are offered. A new material for the manufacture of paper is a recognised want on the continent of Europe at present. Various substances have been had recourse to, and amongst other things wood shavings have been tried; a product called Esparto grass has of late come largely into use as a material for mixing, but a cheap workable fibre is still wanted. We fear, however, the question whether the paper material of the future is to be an Indian fibre,

is destined to be answered in the negative, although this country abounds in valuable and unutilised fibrous plants.

The latest contributions to the literature of the Economic Botany of India come to us from the Government of the Punjab, which some little time ago, issued from their press at Lahore, under the editorship of Mr. Baden Powell, a very useful volume on Punjab Products, a large part of which is devoted to raw vegetable produce; and again, within the last few months, Dr. Lindsay Stewart's book on Punjab Plants. The scope of Dr. Stewart's volume may, perhaps, best be indicated by the following extract from his prefatory introduction. He tells us that "it comprises some notice of almost all the trees of the Province, of most of the shrubs of some size, indigenous or cultivated, and of the herbs, wild or cultivated, which are, or are supposed to be, useful or hurtful, or are otherwise interesting. All of these that I have met with in the Punjab, or that are mentioned in such books, reports and papers as I have access to, get some notice, longer or shorter, according to their apparent importance or interest. As a rule, with the exception of trees of some size, but few plants are inserted which are not considered by natives at least to be of note in themselves or for their products, or are not cultivated as flowers. As a rule, also, but with one or two exceptions, plants which are cultivated only by Europeans are not inserted. And, on the whole, I have tried to err rather on the side of fulness than of scantiness of detail, so far as this could be done without rendering the book too bulky."

From these sentences it is evident that the book in no way professes to be one by which a person, having a Punjab plant of which he knew nothing put into his hands, could, *secundum artem botanicam*, find out its affinities and name; in other words, it is not a *Flora*, although it would form a most admirable complement to one. The plants which it enumerates are arranged in accordance with the place they take in De Candolle's natural system, beginning with Ranunculaceæ, and ending with Lichens. The most modern or best known botanical name is first given, and, as ought always to be the case in such enumerations, the botanical authority for that name is indicated. All botanical synonyms are, however, as a rule, omitted, which, did the book profess to be a *Flora*, would be a grave fault. After the classical name, are given all the vernacular names known to the author. But, as vernacular nomenclature is one of the features of his book, it may be as well to let



Dr. Stewart describe it for himself. In his introduction he writes as follows :—

“ Besides ordinary Punjabi and Hindustani names inserted, the chief linguistic or dialectic varieties of which examples occur are the following. Some Persian names are applied to drugs, or are used in Afghanistan. The Pushtú names include those in use in that country, and those employed in our Trans-Indus territory and the Súlímán Range, &c. Numerous Kashmír and Ladáki (Tibetan) names are given, and a small number of Sind and Beluchistan. A few Arabic and still fewer Greek terms are entered as applied to drugs, the latter having filtered through the Arabian physicians and *hakéms* to the Indian Bázárs, where they are not always very recognizable. Many of the Lahouli names, included with those of the Chenáb basin, belong to a branch of the Tibetan language, as do those of Spiti.”

To its native names, there is annexed for each plant a paragraph giving an account of its geographical distribution in the Province and on its confines, its season of flowering and uses, with other particulars of more or less value and interest. It might, however, in some cases have been useful had a few remarks descriptive of the appearance of the plant been made.

The descriptive paragraphs abound in evidences of the closeness of Dr. Stewart's observation, of the extent of his travels in Upper India and in the Western Himalaya, and of his untiring industry. As a specimen, we extract the following on the *Populus Euphratica*, a tree not uncommon in Western Asia :—

“ This tree, which grows on the Jordan, Tigris and Euphrates is common wild in Sind, and in the Southern Punjab in the low land near rivers. I have seen trees of it as high as Dera Ishmail Khan, and on the Indus it is said to be found occasionally in nooks up to Attock. Far above that on the Indus river or its tributaries, it is found in parts of Tibet (western) to 10,500 feet; and Aitchison mentions it in his “ Lahoul List,” but this specimen may have been a Tibetan one, of which there appears to have been a few in the collection. In the Southern Punjab (where planted specimens occur in Multan, &c.), the tree grows to no great size, specimens of five-feet girth not being common; but this may partly depend on the excessive lopping to which it is subjected to provide fodder for goats. In Sind, where it is better cared for, trees of seven or eight-feet girth are not uncommon.

"The leaves vary in shape to a considerable extent, especially in the plains, some being quite narrow, long, lanceolate, entire, and knife-like, and others excessively broad with a comb-like edge. The leaves of the Ladak trees vary much less. Thomson's statement that the narrow leaves are found on young plants and pollarded shoots, and the broad ones on old trees, is, to a considerable extent, correct. These and intermediate varieties occur on both male and female trees, the latter being more common, so far as I have observed, in the Punjab plains. In places where the tree is subject to inundations, it is sometimes covered with short, horn-like roots to eighteen inches from the ground. (I have seen a similar growth on willows in like circumstances in Kashmir.) From the wood of the tree on parts of the trunk, short spines project into the inner part of the bark. The wood is generally white, soft, and toughish, and, when unseasoned, is very subject to the attacks of white ants. But in old trees there is usually a large proportion of very dark, strong heart-wood. In the Southern Punjab the timber is for the most part only used for wells, &c., but in Sind it is largely employed for beams, &c. (not for planks), and in turnery. In Sind also the smaller trees are cut as coppice, and speedily spring again to furnish a fresh crop of rafters. The wood being white (and so not flesh colour), is preferred for constructive purposes by Hindus, and for the same reason the twigs are used by them as tooth-sticks. The wood is rarely used for boats in Sind, but is said to be largely so employed on the Euphrates, &c. It is also employed for fuel in the south (in part even for steamers, although from its lightness it is not very suitable), and in parts of Tibet, where it grows, it furnishes much fire-wood. In Sind the bark is given as a vermifuge, and the liber is employed as a gun-match."

The indices, three in number, appended to the volume are admirable, and the very varied information which it contains, is by their means made accessible to a reader having even the slightest clue to what he wants to find out. If he has picked up the botanical or English name of a plant, the enquirer can, by turning to the botanical and English index, discover all that Dr. Stewart has to tell him about its native names, uses, &c.; has he heard the native name, a reference to the vernacular index will put him in possession of one or all of its botanical equivalents; or is he desirous of knowing what vegetable products of the Punjab are capable of being,

or have been, put to any particular use, a reference to the third index of "uses," where Dr. Stewart gives a synopsis of his book on a different basis than that of nomenclature, will guide him to the information of which he is in search. For example, under the head *Dyeing* are enumerated no less than forty-two plants, parts or preparations of which are used in that art, and after the name of each is given the number of the page where it is treated of. Under the heading *External* follow the names of seventeen species yielding preparations which are applied to the surface of the human body, medicinally or otherwise. It is needless to multiply examples. For the purposes of general consultation, the book is far more of a model than either Major Drury's *Useful Plants of India* or Balfour's *Cyclopædia*, valuable as both these works are.

Having in view the plan indicated by Dr. Stewart in the extract from his volume first made, we must congratulate him on the admirable way in which he has carried it out, and at the same time assure him that information conveyed in such a very workman-like manner, cannot fail to be widely appreciated and to become highly useful. The aspiring Deputy Commissioner, ambitious of garnishing a report with a few botanical names; the enquiring medical officer, desirous of extending his knowledge of bazar medicines; and the seeker after plant-lore from whatever motive, will, we feel sure, alike apply to this volume as a manual for the Punjab and indeed for Upper India.

Under the designation of "Minor Forest Products," a variety of gums, resins, dye-stuffs and medicines are annually collected in the Government Forests, a small annual revenue being paid to the Forest Department for the permission to do so. Amongst these are doubtless many substances that would be valuable in the arts, were they introduced into Europe. Dr. Stewart enumerates such as are collected in the Punjab; but in the more tropical forests of Bengal and the south of India, they are doubtless more numerous and valuable. Some of them have already gained a footing in the home market, but we are convinced that by a little attention the quality of such could be improved, and that many quite new ones might be introduced. Indian gums, for example, bring a small price at home, compared to those derived from other Eastern sources, the reasons chiefly being that the former are unequal in quality, and impure.

Many of these minor forest products are medicinal, and on that account are well deserving of further attention. The

"Pharmacopœia of India," which stands second in the list of books at the head of this article, does not, as might be imagined, consist of an enumeration of indigenous Indian medicines, but is a reprint of the British Pharmacopœia, with the addition of a certain number of Indian substances, chiefly vegetable, which are now formally recognised as officinal, together with rather copious lists and descriptions of non-officinal Indian medicines, which in some cases may be used as substitutes for the former, but which, as regards European practice, cannot be considered as more than on their trial. This, the newest contribution to Pharmaceutical Technology, however, departs entirely from the custom of Pharmacopœias, which is merely to enumerate and give the physical characters of drugs, inasmuch as it supplies information regarding their medical properties, therapeutic uses, and mode of administration. The book thus more resembles a manual of *Materia Medica* than a Pharmacopœia, and in our opinion, becomes more useful on that account. It was undertaken by direction of the Secretary of State for India, and the work of preparation having been deputed by him to a Committee, consisting, with one exception, of Indian medical officers distinguished for their interest in the Indian *Materia Medica*, the combined result of their labors has finally been printed under the very competent editorship of Dr. Waring of the Madras Army. In carrying on their work, the Committee seem to have availed themselves of a good deal of help external to themselves, for in their preface they render acknowledgments to upwards of fifty gentlemen, mostly medical officers now in India, from whom they received reports.

In as far as this Indian Pharmacopœia is a reprint of the British, it would be out of place to criticise it here; we shall, however, venture to make a few remarks on that part which treats of articles officinal in it which are not contained in the British, and on that much larger section treating of medicines in daily use among the natives of this country, which remain still non-officinal in European practice in India.

With regard to the first of these two classes, the notable circumstance that first strikes us is their limited number. There are only forty. If to these be added the officinal Indian plants contained in the British Pharmacopœia, we find that preparations of only sixty-two plants and two animals are contributed by India to the recognised *Materia Medica* of her Anglo-Saxon rulers. And these sixty-two plants are not all indigencus to the country, though supplies of their products are

derived from Indian bazars, assafoetida, for instance, being grown beyond the frontier.

Many medicines in common use in European practice owe their introduction to early voyagers, who brought home some of the more famous remedies used in the countries they visited. Originally a good deal influenced by a fanciful regard for things far-fetched, both patients and prescribers have come to pin their faith to many remedies which are probably no better than some that could be got nearer home. The reputation of others again has been handed down from a remote antiquity. We believe we are right in saying that no department of medical enquiry has been more neglected than the accurate appreciation of the action of medicines on the human body in health and disease. Without, however, pretending or attempting to enquire into the solidity of the basis on which the reputation of particular medicines rests, we would merely remark that whereas supplies of them are at present imported into England from all parts of the world, we have surely every facility for growing many of them in our Indian possessions, extending, as these do, from near the equator to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and, if Kurra-  
chee and Singapore be taken as extreme points, stretching over about as many degrees of longitude, and embracing within these limits almost every imaginable physical condition affecting plant-life. Supplies for the use of the army, jails and dispensaries in India might at any rate be grown in the country, instead of being, as at present, imported at great expense from Europe. The splendid success of Government in the introduction of the quinine-yielding species of *Cinchona* ought to be an incitement to the trials of other medicinal plants. Were the few Botanical Gardens that at present exist in this country supplemented by medicinal gardens, and were one or two new ones established, we see no reason why *Ipecacuanha*, *Belladonna*, *Aloes*, *Jalap*, *Digitalis*, *Podophyllum*, *Quassia* and other bitters, *Logwood*, *Dandelion*, *Scammony*, *Mint*, *Lavender*, and the species of *Umbelliferae* of which the seeds yield volatile oils, should not be grown in India. The officinal *Rhubarb* grows on the other side of the Himalayas, and if tried on this side would probably do well; *Squill* might be grown on the sea-coast; and *Colchicum* would probably thrive in the Punjab. *Dandelion* and *Senna* used to be supplied to the medical department from the Botanical Garden at Seharunpore. *Hyoscyamus* of excellent quality is supplied still, and so doubtless could *Belladonna* were it tried.

Every one admits the immense amount of good effected by our dispensaries in India. This might, we are convinced, be indefinitely extended, were a larger supply of European medicines allowed for each. At present the orders, we believe, are that the consumption of these be as restricted as possible, and medical officers are directed to make use of bazar medicines as far as they can. Now, however much a native may value bazar medicines when prescribed by his own hakims, he expects to get something else at a dispensary, and is disappointed if he does not. He is often sharp enough to find out when bazar medicine has been given to him, and obstinate enough not to use it.

The distrust of bazar medicine thus shown, whatever be the motive for it, is, we are convinced, well warranted by facts. In many cases bazar medicines are simple trash. Let any one only look at the system of storage followed in a *pansāris*\* shop, and one very evident reason of this will become apparent. His wares are of all degrees of staleness, the stock of many of them inherited from his father or grandfather, and long ago inert. Stoppered bottles are things unknown, and all substances are alike stowed in bags or earthen vessels, exposed to every variation of the atmosphere in respect of heat and moisture, and to the attacks of every kind of insect. All are more or less mixed with shop-sweepings, dust, and foreign matter of various sorts. Many are adulterated, and, as a matter of course, none are labelled. The vendor is often utterly ignorant of even the names of the contents of the bags that are stowed away in the remote corners of his shop, and when questioned, can answer only by guessing. Many of the medicines, even when fresh, do not possess any therapeutic properties whatever, and the really valuable ones are of too uncertain age and strength to be relied upon. The saving in money effected by supplying dispensaries from such sources as these is not very great, while the loss in efficiency and confidence is enormous.

Notwithstanding what we have just said as to the value of bazar medicines as at present supplied, we are fully convinced that amongst them are remedies of great potency, which might, with advantage, be substituted for many that are in vogue in Europe; and that the value of all of them that possess curative properties would be very greatly increased, were proper care taken in their collection, preparation and storage.

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\* A *pansāri* is a native druggist.

Experimental therapeutic enquiries, even when conducted with all the facilities afforded by large hospitals in Europe, and on patients possessing some degree of intelligence and docility, are attended by great practical difficulties, and make large demands on the patience and perseverance of the experimenter. How much more difficult must the prosecution of like enquires be in this country with the slight facilities afforded in Indian dispensaries, where but few of the patients (and these often chronic invalids) are inmates, and where the out-door patients are exposed to the influences and advices of Brahmans, fakirs, native practitioners, and ignorant relatives, who in a hundred ways prevent the doctor's orders from being followed, or his medicine from being swallowed at all, unless perhaps concomitantly with some farrago of their own concoction. Add to this, the exhausting effect of the climate on their mental energies, the small opportunity and the comparatively unsettled life of Indian medical officers, and it is not to be wondered that so little comparatively has been done by them towards an accurate appreciation of the therapeutic value of the thousand-and-one substances known as bazar medicines. In a general way, not a little has been recorded of certain remedies, and perhaps enough to mark the particular ones to which attention should be directed, and to warrant the appointment of medical officers to the sole duty of conducting exhaustive enquiries as to their chemistry and therapeutics, with a view to their addition to the *Materia Medica* if found worthy. Experiments would also be useful which would settle in a definite way, once and for ever, the claims to be made officinal of certain drugs that now retain a doubtful reputation.

The sections which are devoted to these irregular though common remedies, constitute in our opinion by far the most valuable part of the new Indian Pharmacopœia. In dealing with these substances, the Committee note most of the properties currently ascribed to them, indicating also authorities, and where these are not traditional merely, giving references to them. In the matter of vernacular nomenclature, however, the Committee would have done well to have taken a leaf out of Dr. Lindsay Stewart's book. In their preface they explain that "amongst the returns received from India, was one from "Native Surgeon Moodeen Sheriff, of Madras, containing the "vernacular names of indigenous plants and drugs, in twelve of "the native languages of India, a work of immense labor, "reflecting the greatest credit on the intelligence and industry

"of the compiler. This catalogue having been submitted to eminent Oriental scholars at home, and pronounced generally correct, it was resolved to append it to the Pharmacopœia. It was accordingly forwarded to Madras, for the purpose of being printed under Mr. Moodeen Sheriff's superintendence. Unexpected circumstances, however, having arisen there to delay its publication, it has been deemed advisable, rather than to defer the publication of this work, to issue the catalogue in a separate or supplementary volume."

It is, we think, very much to be regretted that this course has been followed. Many of these non-official remedies, the introduction of which to regular practice is avowedly one of the objects of the publication of this Pharmacopœia, are dismissed without a single vernacular name for them being given. The recommendation, for example, of the Committee, that *Hymenodictyon excelsum* should be looked to as likely to prove a valuable specific for malarious fevers, is pretty certain to be quite thrown away on a medical officer who is not an expert in botany, for not a single native name for this tree is given either in the book itself or in its index, and though it might happen to grow in forests round his station, the Committee put him in possession of no means of recognising it. The native names of even such widely-distributed Indian trees as *Butea frondosa* and *Embllica officinalis*, not to mention many others equally common, are omitted, though they must have been well known to the Committee. This very grave defect in the Pharmacopœia cannot be removed by the publication of a separate catalogue of native names, as proposed. In a second edition we hope to see not only a full vernacular index, but to find, following the botanical name of each substance, as complete a list as possible of the vernacular synonyms for it which are current in all the three Presidencies.

We have as yet said little or nothing in support of the third statement contained in the opening sentence of this article, to wit, that Europeans, notwithstanding their long possession of India, have as yet done little in the way of adding to the vegetable products of the country. As introduced field-crops, potatoes and oats may be pointed to, and Cinchona may be mentioned with just pride; but in gardens, as might be expected, are to be met with our most numerous achievements in the way of acclimatization. They are not much to boast of, for, compared to a good English garden, the finest flower *parterres* to be seen in India have rather a poor and mean appearance; while European vegetables, though raised from



the best seed, are lacking both in substance and in flavour. We quite agree with Mr. Firminger when he says that "under the most favorable point of view, it can hardly be said that horticulture has as yet made much advancement in India." The reasons for this are very obvious. Gardening is an art almost utterly neglected by the natives. Men of birth or money consider it quite beneath their dignity to take any greater practical interest in it than they do in agriculture. Fruit, indeed, they are fond of, but they are too supine to try to improve its quality and flavour. In their selection of flowers, considerations of beauty have no influence with natives. For them, the prime recommendation of a plant is that its flowers have a sweet smell, the second that they are of gaudy and distinct colours. Delicacy of shading, gradation of tint and grace of form, are unappreciated; and beauty of foliage and habit are still more utterly so. The common customs of gathering only the blossoms of plants for nosegays, and of stringing the corollas on pieces of thread like beads, show how little they appreciate floral beauty. Landscape gardening is unappreciated, nay unknown among them. Can it be wondered at that their gardens present the stiff, formal, unenticing appearance they do! A number of raised walks that are intended to be straight, running at right angles to each other, and all shaded by double rows of straggling, unpruned, orange or other fruit trees; a series of deep, damp, four-sided spaces marked off by the intersections of the walks, and in which straggling crops of country vegetables have been sown in irregular rhomboidal patches intended for squares; an irregular grove of mangoes, guavas, or pomegranates; a corner or two sacred to Tulsi, Jasmine, French marigolds, and various other honoured herbs, and a good many more such to obstinate weeds whose roots it is too much trouble to dig out; an untidy well, and perhaps a *chutree* or two; some tumble-down malis' houses, and a bullock-shed;—such are a few of the chief appearances that strike one in a native garden. Professional Indian gardeners or malis are usually ignorant in the extreme. They have little more education than coolies, and are often quite as lazy and careless. A few of them can graft and bud, but not one in a thousand can prune. Of the simplest principles of gardening they are ignorant. They know nothing, even empirically, about the necessities of cultivation in different kinds of soil. Rotation of crops and change of seed are practices of which they have not even yet discovered the advantage; and the skilful application

of manure is an art almost unknown. Malis cultivating on their own account turn their attention, as a matter of course, chiefly to vegetables ; fruit being generally supposed to require no cultivation. Every one must be familiar with the flavourless melons and half-swelled grapes which appear on his breakfast-table during the hot season, and with the appearance at least of the small but amazingly odoriferous mangoes and guavas, which scent the morning air during a drive through a bazar in the early part of the rains, and also with the wonderful variety of insipid gelatinous messes, of varying degrees of slipperiness and unpalatability, that are put before him by his *Khansamah* during that season, with the assurance that they are country vegetables, and that no others are obtainable.

Most Europeans in India, probably because they had no leisure to make themselves practically acquainted with its details before leaving home, know nothing practically about gardening. The rigour of the climate, the press of official duty, but most of all the uncertainty of remaining long enough in one place to reap the full advantage of any labour expended, prevent many a man who is really fond of flowers from devoting any attention to his garden. The *mali* in whom such a Sahib puts his trust, is master of the situation, and he does his worst. He hates novelties and innovations, and especially in the shape of those troublesome *Wilayati tarkâri*. The freshest and best imported seeds may be made over to him, but the chances are they don't germinate. The Sahib wonders why this should be so, and thinks bitter things of his seedsman. Had he seen the thorough drenching with water to which the seeds were probably subjected immediately after the sowings were completed, the seedsman's character would have been saved. Perhaps he has insisted on manure being given to his vegetables, and when the fine long carrots that he was led to hope for from the descriptive labels on the packets of seed, are represented in reality by squat truncate-looking abortions, he again wonders, and once more blames the seed or the climate. But had he seen that the manure he was so particular about getting, instead of being well dug into the ground so that the growing vegetable should pierce downward in search of it, had been merely scratched in, so as to remain an inch or two below the surface, he might have anticipated the peculiar form of the naturally spindle-shaped esculents.

As Mr. Firminger well remarks :—"No one should allow himself to suppose that he can have a well-kept, well-cultivated

"garden without being to a considerable extent his own head-gardener." To enable most people to become their own head-gardeners, such a manual as that of which Mr. Firminger has just brought out the second edition, is absolutely necessary. To meet, however, the want of knowledge which we have just indicated, such a book should treat, and treat at length, of the first principles of gardening, as well as of all its practical details.

Mr. Firminger's book consists of two parts: in the first of these, which is devoted to the "operations of gardening," he discusses, but, in our opinion, far too briefly, such matters as climate, soil, manure, the laying out of a garden, seeds and sowing, propagation, pruning, &c. &c. The second, and by far the most bulky part, treats of "garden plants," and gives short specific descriptions of those enumerated, with directions for their treatment. If Mr. Firminger intended his book as a complete manual of Indian gardening, he would have done well, had he extended his chapters on the general principles of horticulture so as to have made reference to any of the standard British works on the subject unnecessary. Pruning is an art most difficult to teach, and equally difficult to acquire except by practice; and although we admit that but little about it can be imparted by a book, we think Mr. Firminger might have spared more than two rather sparsely printed pages to its discussion; and concerning soils, we are sure he must have more to tell us than the few meagre facts which he has set down in the page and a half which he has devoted to a subject so important. Mr. Firminger has bestowed his chief care upon the second part of his book, and he has there given a very full enumeration indeed of the plants usually met with in Indian gardens, besides mentioning many that one does not often see. The notices of these are very likely indeed to be useful. Some specialities, such as orchids and caladiums, are but slightly treated of; and we confess we are rather disappointed with the chapters on roses and vines. Roses are plants of such universal cultivation in the gardens of Europeans, that fuller details as to the treatment of the various fine English and French sorts would, we are sure, have been most acceptable. Particulars are especially wanted as to the best mode of propagating *each* kind, whether by layers, cuttings, or buddings, and if by the latter mode, as to the best stock. Budding can be very successfully practised with almost all kinds in the Upper Provinces, but budded roses obviously require much more careful looking to than those that have been reared from

cuttings, and Mr. Firminger's experience on striking cuttings would have been most welcome. For his book, as a whole, however, he deserves the warmest thanks of all who are interested in gardening in India, and we are sure it will be gratefully referred to by many an amateur. His directions for cultivation are more particularly applicable to Bengal, but there is much in them that will be useful in any part of India, and we have much pleasure in recommending his book as the newest and best, treating specially of gardening in this country.

Before concluding, we cannot forbear from referring to the excellent work that has been done for Indian horticulture by the Government Botanic Gardens at Calcutta and Saharunpur. From the latter, the distribution of all kinds of trees and smaller plants, besides seeds,—until lately quite gratuitous—has for many years been very extensive. From the Superintendent's Report for the year 1865-66, we learn that during the preceding twelve months no fewer than 92,772 living plants had been distributed. The different Agri-Horticultural Associations that have of late sprung up in various parts of the country have also done, and are still doing, a great deal of good in the way of disseminating seeds of English flowers and vegetables.

Much, however, remains to be done even for the gardens of the *Sahiblog*, and almost everything for those of natives, the poorer classes of whom are too ignorant to profit by any efforts that are not particularly directed towards them. The necessity for improving Indian horticulture and agriculture, has begun to attract attention at home, and the present Secretary of State and Governor-General, themselves skilled in agriculture, are understood to be much interested in the matter. We venture to express a hope that one of the first results of this awakening interest will be the establishment of schools for the instruction of natives in both farming and gardening, the very elements of which are quite unknown to the mass of the cultivators of the soil, whether Hindu or Mahomedan.

## ART. IX.—OUR PANJAB FRONTIER,—ITS PRESENT PROTECTED AND SATISFACTORY STATE.

**B**EFORE the interest which must have been excited by the debate in the House of Commons on the 9th July totally subsides, and whilst people have still in their memory the facts of the Russian advance as stated in the House, we are anxious to offer a few words in reply to "Our Panjab Frontier, by a Panjab Official," which excited considerable attention when first published in Calcutta a few months ago. We cannot conceive that the writer of the work in question has any knowledge of the "operations of war," or that he can have studied any of the best military authorities of the day. But it is possible that his pamphlet, read by ordinary people, may be productive of the most mischievous ideas and wrong impressions.

H. W. B. somewhat startles us by the assertion, that the *semi-barbarous tribes* of Russia are barely preferable to the barbarous hordes of Central Asia. What?—A nation which worships the same God and Saviour as ourselves, no better than the ignorant idolaters who fear neither God nor man; nor than the lawless inhabitants of Bokhara, and its surrounding towns and villages—the hot-beds of Mussulman fanaticism, fiercely opposed to all projects of civilisation and improvement! Is a nation which promises us railway and steam communication from Bokhara to Moscow no better than one in which it is unsafe for any one to travel? When we first planted our standards on Indian soil, and by degrees grew to be a large power, annexing and conquering States, year by year nearing Russia, till at last nearly one-sixth of Asia belongs to us, was she alarmed at our intentions? Was she seized with unseemly fears, such as those which seem to possess a large portion of our community? What is the meaning of the cry for vigorous action which we so perpetually hear? What excuse can we have for annexing Jellalabad or Quettah? So long as the state of Cabul was anarchy and confusion, we might have had some small pretext, but now, were we to step in and interfere, and were the Amir to complain to the Russian Government, we consider they might justly make it a *casus belli*.

H. W. B. begins his work by giving us the character of the natives along our border, whom he styles as "proud, patriotic,

brave and independent, warlike and fanatical," and, further on, draws a wonderful picture of Bokhara, and the country to the east, Russianised and quietly bending to the rule of its Christian conqueror. Now to conquer, civilise and pacify a country so rapidly is the very *acmé* of civilisation, which even we have scarcely attained, and yet H. W. B. questions whether the Russians are not as great barbarians as the people they are said to be civilising! We are at a loss to reconcile these statements.

Our author tells us that Bokhara was Russian so far back as 1868, whereas Mr. Grant Duff, in his speech on the 9th of July, informed the House that Samarkand was the Russian Frontier, and that she may have to go back from there, as the situation is a most isolated one, and separated from their next post by a large tract of difficult desert. But granting for the sake of argument that Russia has been steadily advancing, that, say six years hence, she holds a line from Herat to Balkh, and that Balkh and Khotan are connected *viâ* Tashkhurgan by a cordon of forts and fortresses, and that she has openly avowed her intention of invading Hindustan—what then would be our course as an army acting on the defensive to meet her? We are not likely to be the aggressors, so we may leave out of the question the idea of our taking the initiative in attacking Russia on her own ground.

Before proceeding to discuss this point, however, we will give a general outline of the North-West Frontier, superfluous though it may be to the generality of our readers; and in doing so, we cannot do better than follow the text of H. W. B's pamphlet. "The North-West Frontier of India may be said to commence at the top of the Kaghan Valley, adjoining the Chilas District. It skirts the Black Mountain, which separates Kaghan from the Indus, and then reaching that river, follows its left bank to Torbeyla, where crossing over, it runs along the base of the hills, encircling the Peshawur Valley, as far as the Khyber Pass. From this point the border is deflected back towards the Indus, and passing round the Afridi Hills to Kohat, thence proceeds westward up the Miranzaie Valley along the base of the Orukzail and Zwaemukht Hills to the river Koorum. Here it is again turned back, and, passing round the Waziri Hills, strikes the Tukht Suliman Range, in the Dera Ismail Khan District; onwards from this, following the base of the Suliman Range, it proceeds south, and joins the Sind Frontier at Kasmoor, thus presenting a border frontage of 800 miles towards British Territory."

It will thus be seen that our frontier line is a roughly defined semicircle. Imagine the fixed point of a pair of compasses placed at Umballah, with the moveable leg opened out to Jacobabad in the south-east, a semicircle described with that radius will include both Peshawar and Chilas. We purposely omit any description of our frontier from Chilas to the Karakorum Pass, as from the enormous extent of mountainous country, the extreme altitude of the passes, the passage of the innumerable mountain torrents, and utter impracticability of the route on military grounds, it may be affirmed that no Government would sanction, no General dare to undertake, such a vast and costly enterprise.

This frontier is bounded by rough, inhospitable mountains, containing, it is true, several passes of various dimensions, but not one of which can be considered practicable for heavy guns; inhabited, as H. W. B. tells us, by independent tribes, "hardy, brave, faithless, treacherous," revengeful to a degree, jealous of the national honour, of their clans, and if hostile to us, certainly not friendly to any other civilised nation, especially as they are said to be entirely under the influence of the Akhun of Swat, and of their fanatical Mollahs, who are perpetually preaching a Jihad against the Kafir, be he Muscovite or Celt.

The chief passes on the frontier leading towards Russia, as she now stands, are (commencing from the south-east) the Bolan Pass near Jacobabad, the Sakhi Sarwar near Dera Ghazi Khan, the Gwuleyri near Dera Ismail Khan, the Koorum between Bunnoo and Kohat, and the Khyber and Tarturra near Peshawur. We pass over as unworthy of notice the many minor passes between the Bolan and the Gwuleyri, for they are utterly unfitted for the passage of a large army,—such an army as would be necessary for the conquest of Hindustan.

We have two courses open to us—the course advocated by H. W. B., that we should advance our frontier line to Jellalabad on the north, and the Bolan Pass on the south; the other, so much derided by those who laugh at our principles of "masterly inactivity," that we should hold our own first as we are, and await with dignified patience the issue of events.

First, let us examine H. W. B.'s proposal for advancing our frontier. He would have us occupy Jellalabad and the Bolan Pass (by taking Quettah, we presume). He informs us that our present position is faulty—nay, *dangerous*; that we *must*

*advance*; that the conquest of Quettah and Jellalabad will "restore our prestige,—now at a low ebb" and "baffle Russia"! Now all this sounds exceedingly well, but we find that his arguments, one and all, fall to the ground when analysed. How many men would he want for his project? And where is the money to come from? for the country will not pay itself. He would have us "control all Affghanistan" and "settle the independent tribes on our border"; talks of our "occupying both sides of the Sufed Koh," and throwing into subjection and "civilising its wild inhabitants." Now, to do all this effectually, to garrison the country lying between Jellalabad and Quettah and to preserve communications with our present border, we should require an army of 50,000 men. We should require a chain of forts and fortresses, intermediate between our proposed advanced posts and our present frontier, (the line of which must, in the event of war, be considered our primary base of operations): these would have to be connected with metalled roads and with telegraphs, for Napoleon tells us, "to operate by lines distant from each other, without perfect inter-communication, is a grave military fault which generally leads to others," that "the advanced columns or posts of an army must be in such constant communication, that no enemy can penetrate between them." And again he says, "the communications between advanced columns must be perfectly open and easy." However good we might make our roads in Affghanistan, could it ever be said of lines of communication, which would lead over such hills as that country possesses, that they are open and easy?

If one country above another is unfavourable for military operations, we hold that it is Affghanistan. During the winter months, operations of a very ordinary nature are impracticable. The sufferings undergone by our army in 1842 are known to every one who has read English history. Look at the immense difficulty of pushing up our munitions of war, our heavy guns, our commissariat stores and supplies, at so great a distance from our depôts, and through passes presenting such difficulties as the Khyber or Bolan. We agree with that able writer Colonel Hamley, when he says of a similar case, "a defence conducted on such a system would be very costly in men and material, and of very uncertain advantage."

Let us now look at the movement on political grounds; and here we must beg to differ entirely with H. W. B., who, though his intimate knowledge of the people of that part of the world



entitles his opinion to every respect, is, we consider, entirely mistaken in his idea of our presence in Kabul being so welcome to the Affghans. Having expatiated on the fanaticism, treachery and warlike qualities, of the races by which we should be surrounded, H. W. B. goes on to say that we should conciliate and make friends with them. We conceive that to conquer these tribes, and to bind them down as our subjects, would be to rouse in them all the spirit of envy and hatred for which they are renowned, and by annexing one-third of Affghanistan we should awaken such a feeling of distrust in the remainder, that our presence would be absolutely abhorred. If not hated by the peasantry who would be eventually gainers by our settled rule, we should certainly be hated by the more intellectual of the nobles and gentry, who would see in our presence their own downfall. As for our restoring our prestige by the capture of Kandahar—if such proofs are periodically necessary to assure our Hindustani subjects of our ability to defend our empire, there is no knowing where our advance is to end; a few years after we might be thus called on to take Kabul, Herat, or any other town a few hundred miles from our border. The fact of the Kafir country being such a “promising field for missionary labor” would not justify us in the eyes of other nations for such an unwarrantable act of aggression, any more than the more sordid desire of possessing the fine sanitarium for our troops offered in the Terar Hills.

Let us assume our position advanced to Jellalabad and Quettah, with the intermediate posts of Kandahar and Ghazni taken and garrisoned. We will imagine a large Russian force marching against Jellalabad, our most vulnerable point. In taking up a defensive position, the first and most important point to be considered is the “line of retreat,” which the army would have to take in case of defeat. Napoleon tells us, that “the lines of retreat should be numerous and easy,” that “soldiers who are not certain of having a safe line of retreat secured, are not likely to fight with the same spirit as those who know they have a safe line to retire by.”

From Jellalabad we should have one line of retreat on to Peshawar *via* the Khyber, or on to Kandahar. We cannot conceive an army retiring over the Sufed Koh *via* the Koorum Valley into Bunnoo or Kohat: nor can we conceive an army retiring one half to Kandahar, and the other half to Peshawar. This would be to oppose fractions of our force to masses of the enemy, a chance of success we are not likely to throw purposely in his way.

Has H. W. B. forgotten the melancholy story of how the Kabul brigade, when retiring to Peshawar, was cut up to a man, Dr. Brydon being the only survivor left to tell the tale? Has he forgotten the retreat on Corunna, and the demoralization of Sir John Moore's force? What would have been his position, had he been overtaken at a pass like the Khyber, instead of meeting with the British fleet? Should such a reverse meet our arms as the loss of a brigade in the Khyber—were the wires to flash down the news, "Jellalabad fallen, our advanced brigade cut up," what, can H. W. B. tell us, would be the effect in the minds of our native subjects? How would our garrisons in Kandahar, Quettah and Ghazni fare?

In an advance to Jellalabad or Quettah we see no single advantage. On the contrary the move would be unprecedented for folly in the annals of war. It would be the violation of every principle laid down by all the best military authors, and were we not afraid of tiring our readers, we might quote page after page on the subject from the works of some of the most talented teachers of the art of war of the present day. We conceive we have quite enough of discontented subjects under our rule, without attempting, on the eve of a great Russian war (as H. W. B. informs us that we are), the annexation of some twenty or thirty thousand square miles of country, peopled by independent tribes whose interest we should find it a very hard task to make one with our own, and whose fidelity we believe could never be relied on,—men who, H. W. B. says, are longing to join with Russia in sacking and plundering the rich towns of Hindustan.

Having thus fully discussed the disadvantages attendant on the advanced position, as proposed by H. W. B., we will now proceed to enumerate the many advantages possessed in our present frontier line. Previously to doing so, however, it will be necessary to glance briefly at some of the changes which will have come over the country, and which will have increased its military value, between the present and that time when the Muscovite army shall be close enough, to warrant our feeling apprehensive of Russian invasion.

Long before that has come to pass, the Peshawar Railway will have emerged from the womb of the future, and Kurrachee will be connected with Multan by rail; the frontier roads from Kohat to Jacobabad, and from Lahore to Dera Ismail Khan, will have been bridged over and metalled, and will be as practicable for the movements of large bodies of troops as the Grand Trunk Road is at the present day. Thus Jacobabad

at the mouth of the Bolan, and Peshawar at the mouth of the Khyber, will be within seven days' easy journey of either Calcutta or Bombay, whilst the Koorum and the Gwuleyree Passes will be but a few days further off. With the magnificent fleet, which now forms the "Overland Transport Service," aided by such steamers as England alone can lend, the Division at Aldershot and the Brigade at the Curragh could be encamped on the said frontier, or on the Jumrood Plain, within six weeks of the issue of the order from the Secretary of State for War. The perfection which our irrigation works will then have attained, will utterly preclude the possibility of supplies failing, however large may be our army; and the grand net-work of roads will ensure those supplies reaching the army with punctuality. There will be direct rail communication between our frontier stations of Peshawar and Jacobabad and our arsenals, replete with every munition of war, stocked with every weapon, that science can suggest, art perfect. They will also be connected with our gun foundries and with our powder manufactories; and in addition to the *matériel*, which could be poured daily into our field magazines from the arsenals in this country, we could have constant supplies from Woolwich or from Waltham, ere the Russian stores could reach Tashkend.

Our present frontier, as we have previously shown, forms a rough semi-circle, with its convex side towards the enemy. Such a line has been universally admitted by such masters of the "art of war" as Napoleon, Frederic the Great, Jomini, and the Archduke Charles, to be the best base to possess in the operations of war,—the best line in which to draw up troops (should the ground admit) in time of battle. The same high authorities have laid down that "one of the greatest impediments to attacking "a position is a mountain range running parallel to its front"; that "an army acting on the defensive in its own country possesses "innumerable advantages"; and that "if that country has a mountain range for its frontier line, its army may take post at the "outlet of one of the mountain passes, there await the movements of her adversary, and destroy in detail those fractions "of the enemy's forces that the general may think proper to "allow to emerge from the defile."

When the time does arrive for us to change our present dignified policy for one of decisive action, then the innumerable advantages of our present frontier will show themselves; then the present garrisons of Kohat, Bunnoo, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, and Jacobabad (watching as they do the

outlets of the principal passes) will be reinforced, and converted into corps of observation; then an army of reserve will be massed in some central position, Lahore for instance; the urgent necessity of the case would warrant the calling out of the militia and volunteers; and with these forces to perform Home and Mediterranean duties, re-inforcements from England, Gibraltar and Malta, would pour in in such numbers, that we might concentrate, within a week's journey of any one of the passes by which the Russians could advance, such an army as would utterly frustrate any further attempt at invasion or conquest.

We should have an enormous country in our rear the inhabitants of which believe us invincible, a country with an inexhaustible supply of grain and cattle, and with a network of military roads that are excelled by none in the world. The transport of the commissariat stores would be most expeditious, owing to the vast number of roads by which they would be moved up from the "collecting districts" to the magazines necessary for their storage. Thus on the first indication of hostile symptoms towards us, we might establish commissariat and ordnance depôts, at the places where the various corps of observation would be stationed, sufficiently large for the supply of 50,000 men—a force, we opine, large enough to prevent the debouching of any Russian army into the plains of the Panjab.

We have a Commissariat Department second to none in the world. The officers who compose it are habituated to the constant provisioning of armies in the field—armies which, composed as they are of men, whose creeds or nationalities necessitate the supply of a great variety of provisions, are more difficult to feed than any troops in the world. We have an admirable Ordnance Department, we have Gun Foundries, and Powder Manufactories, which, though on a smaller scale, do not suffer in comparison with the parent establishments in Surrey.

For six months in the year, every one of the passes are impracticable for an army, owing to the impossibility of crowning the snow-covered heights on either flank and in the summer months, the heat would not act so unfavourably against us, with the superior communication we possess of river, road and rail.

Let us now glance at the prospect of a Russian army having overcome the almost insurmountable difficulties of the march from Samarkand to Kabul, preparing in enormous numbers for its final descent on the plains of Hindustan. By that time our suspicions will have been fairly roused; *then* will be the time

to show that British pluck and British endurance have not degenerated since the Eastern Campaign of 1854.

We will grant that the Russians have accomplished their march to Kabul; that our policy of liberally subsidising the Amir has failed (no one can deny that the 12 lakhs we have lately granted him is a subsidy), or that he has been worsted in his endeavours to defend the country; that the whole of Afghanistan and Kandahar is in their possession; that their line of communication is secure; that they have arsenals and foundries at Samarkand, and that Bokhara is to them the same base that India is to us. We will grant that their men are not demoralised by their long marches, nor the hospitals filled owing to the hardships they have undergone; that their artillery have in that journey of years kept pace with the scientific improvements of the day, and that their boasted light cavalry is fit for rough work; that they have so perfected their engineer train that they can make roads, with sufficient rapidity and of sufficient durability to admit of their armies marching at the rate of five miles per diem over the mountains that intervene between Kabul and Hindustan; that they have so freely subsidised the wild inhabitants of those ranges as utterly to preclude the possibility of molestation in the mountain passes by those magnificent guerilla warriors, who make war their trade, plunder the one object of their lives.

With our intimate knowledge of the country, of its inhabitants, their manners, customs, language, &c., we should always be sure of intelligence more or less reliable, so that, on the Russian army advancing from Jellalabad or from Quettah, the wires would flash down the intelligence to the army of reserve, which would be immediately massed at the mouth of the threatened pass. The accurate surveys of our North-West Frontier would enable a general so to dispose of his army, that the value of each individual would be increased. Corps of light troops (such as our Panjab and Goorkha Regiments, with those magnificent little Mountain Batteries, the admiration of all who have seen them on service) might be thrown forward some miles into the hills to engage the Russian flanking brigades; and surely, commanded by officers who know the configuration of these hills as well as they do the downs of their native country, these parties would have no difficulty in so harassing the enemy that he would reach the mouth of the pass in disorder, and then before a single battalion could deploy or a single gun be brought into action, their forces would be exposed to the deadly fire of the

Armstrong, the withering fusillade of the *Henry Martini*, and would again feel the keenness of British steel, but tenfold stronger than when the "seventh and last Earl of Cardigan" led the Light Brigade in that charge which even in the days of knightly chivalry was never equalled: and then—wavering, dispirited, broken, they would re-enter the defile only to meet with worse disaster; pursued, as far as prudence would admit, by an army that knows not defeat, they would become utterly demoralised; then those tribes (whom H. W. B. describes as "faithless, cunning, treacherous,") would ignore the money received for their alliance; the prospect of booty, especially of money and of weapons, would act as an irresistible incentive; and swarming down the hills they would increase the defeat to rout, and would not abstain from harassing the enemy until they were under the guns of the fortress which Russia must build at either Jellalabad, Quettah or Ghāzni, ere she can advance towards Hindustan.

Let us grant even, for the sake of argument, that the army opposed to the Russians is defeated by them,—what would be the result? No Englishman can imagine that such a reverse would be more than temporary, and our prestige in India is far too high for the natives to rise, until we are worsted without hope of retrieval.

We will here cursorily glance at the five routes from Kabul to the Panjab for the benefit of those who may not know the difficulties presented by them.

- No. 1. Bolan Pass.—Difficult for an army on account of the scarcity of water, and in some places total impossibility of obtaining forage.
- No. 2. Sakhi Sirwar.—Supplies not procurable, water plentiful, road not only difficult but dangerous.
- No. 3. Gwuleyree.—Extremely difficult for cavalry, would require an enormous amount of labour ere the road could be made passable even for the lightest field ordnance.
- No. 4. Koorum.—Impracticable for any but Mountain Train Batteries on account of the rugged nature of the country.
- No. 5. Khyber.—Supplies would have to be carried from Kabul to Jumrōod, as the country could not be depended on to support an army.

Supposing the Russians successful at the mouth of the Khyber, and that a repulse necessitated our retiring on Attock, the British army would most certainly be enabled to hold that place against any force and would suffice to protect the passage of

the Indus north of Kushalghur; the corps of observation at Edwardesabad (Bunnoo) being apprised by telegram, would move on Kohat, and with the garrison of that place, would afford some slight impediment to the forcing of the Kohat pass, and entirely prevent the possibility of the British left flank at Attock being turned; whilst a similar brigade at Torbeyla would protect our right flank. The chances are strongly in favour, that before the Russians could have received sufficient stores or reinforcements to warrant their attempting to leave the Peshawar Valley, our supports would have enabled us to attack them simultaneously on the south and east sides of the valley, or to blockade them in it hopelessly.

Were our repulse to occur at either the Koorum or Goomul (Gwuleyree) Passes, the British force defeated would have to retire on an entrenched camp at or near Esa Kheyl or Kalabagh, in which stores would have been previously collected, and dispositions made for a prolonged defence. With the memory of Jellalabad and Lucknow still fresh in the minds of our officers, we feel sure that the entrenchments would be defended with the dogged pertinacity of the Briton, until sufficient reinforcements should arrive to enable the general to raise the siege. The Russians could not attempt to cross the Indus lower down, leaving such a position occupied in their rear, since its occupation would threaten, if not cut off, their line of communication, and in their advance they would be worried by the thought, that their Pathan allies were not sufficiently Russianised to resist the temptation of British gold.

Let us take one more case. The force at Jacobabad being defeated and driven towards the Indus, then, and then only, would we sanction an advance across our border, then would we sanction the squandering of untold gold to assist our enterprise. Then, whilst the Russ was waiting near the banks of the river for his siege-trains and pontoons, so as to drive the force from the Indus, cross it and prosecute his advance into Hindustan (for these heavy portions of his *matériel* could not be up with his advanced force)—then would be the time for the Divisions at Dera Ismail Khan and Bunnoo, under a dashing and experienced leader, to be thrown into the Goomul Valley, and moving rapidly up it, harass the Russian "line of communication" and threaten one of his fortified "points of intermediate support," in junction with the Affghan and Pathan hordes, whom our freely squandered gold would attract to our side. Thus, taken in rear and as it were held in check, the

Russian dare not advance on the Indus : his halt would inspire our troops with fresh courage, and enable reinforcements to pour into Jacobabad. The main army advancing on his front, the Division in rear of the Tukht-i-Suliman would be moved swiftly down the Sewestan Valley to attack their left flank. Thus, attacked in front by a powerful army, on the left flank by a picked Light Division, with the hordes of Beluchistan, ever friendly to our cause, swooping up from the south, possibly a Persian army officered by Britons advancing on Quetta, there would be but two courses open to the forces of the Czar—an unconditional surrender, or complete annihilation.

Thus having laid before our readers the arguments against advancing our frontier line, we trust we have shown to those who have taken the trouble to follow us through our remarks, the uselessness—nay folly—of pushing forward into a mountainous and inhospitable country. We would have it much what it is at present, but strengthened and improved year by year ; we would have the Peshawar Railway and the missing link between Kotree and Multan pushed on with greater vigour ; we would have our frontier roads bridged and macadamised, and our frontier troops armed with the best weapons of the day ; we would, by liberal grants of money and large gifts of weapons, conciliate the people of Afghanistan, and endeavour to make them look on us as their friends as well as their neighbours ; so that, if the invasion ever should take place, we may have a perfectly equipped and well-trained Afghan army, acting as a buffer on the far side of the mountains, to break the shock of the attack, and not allow its momentum to be increased by the combination of Kabul with Russia. Such an alliance is more likely to be prevented by our present policy than, as we have said before, by our annexing a great portion of Afghanistan, and rousing bitter feelings of enmity between its uneducated hordes and our soldiery. Let us, secure in possessing one of the finest natural frontiers and one of the finest armies in the world, still pursue our present policy of “masterly inactivity,” taking care to improve the communications between our bases of Calcutta and Bombay and our frontier posts, and then, when the struggle does take place, if struggle there ever be, let it be between the deployed flower of the British army, and the worn-out, dispirited columns of the Russians ; and on that day, let every Briton remember that “an army, which fights with a defile in its rear, fights under great disadvantages and with the almost certainty of defeat.”



## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*The Russo-Indian Question, historically, strategically and politically considered.* With a sketch of Central Asiatic politics and map of Central Asia. By Capt F. Trench, F.R.G.S. 20th Hussars. London. Macmillan and Co. 1869.

THIS is only one of several *brochures* which owe their appearance to the fresh interest which recent events in Central Asia have imparted to the Russo-Indian Question. Sir Vincent Eyre, Major Evans Bell, and others have already contributed to the literature upon this subject during the present season ; and it is impossible to say how many more books and pamphlets upon the same topic may not see the light before the year has closed. So fertile is the theme of discussion ; so wide the arena in which the disputants contend. To any one, however, who is not yet heartily sick of the whole question, we can safely recommend Capt. Trench's book as a careful, laborious, and exhaustive treatise upon it,—a book which will be useful for purposes of reference for some years to come, while at the same time the opinions expressed are moderate, and, on the whole, characterised at once by their fairness and intelligence.

Captain Trench commences by sketching the origin and growth of Russo-phobia from the beginning of the century up to the present day. It was so long ago as 1800 that the first project was formed for the invasion of British India by French and Russian troops, and from that day to this the idea of its possibility—we may even say of its probability—has ever been present

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*Note.*—The opinions expressed in the two following notices are somewhat at variance with those maintained in the previous article, but we would remind the reader that the pages of the *Calcutta Review* have never been confined to the views of any particular party. To prevent misconception upon this point, it may be as well to quote from the original prospectus of 1844 :—"In the successive numbers of this Review, there is little doubt that the quick-witted reader will detect many slight discrepancies of opinion. As the Review is the organ of no party, and the Editor perhaps the last of the many writers meeting together in its catholic pages, whose own views are worthy to be converted into a Procrustes-bed for the mutilation of other men's expositions, complete harmony of opinion on lesser points of faith is clearly not to be expected." These principles have been re-iterated from time to time. In the present case the various notices have been received from different sources, and the question is naturally argued from different points of view, each writer, and the writer alone, being responsible for his own opinion.

to the minds of a certain class. "But," as Captain Trench remarks, "such a scheme as this, difficult enough at the present day, would at that time have been utterly impracticable, and even if such a genius as Napoleon deemed it possible, as it has been alleged he did, such an opinion on his part can only be attributed to the very crude ideas of the extent and geography of the countries of Western and Central Asia then prevalent in Europe." Captain Trench accordingly devotes the next two chapters to a geographical sketch of Turkistan and Eastern Turkistan, by the former of which terms is understood the three Usbeg Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara and Kokand, and the late Russian conquests, and by the latter the Alti-shahar or Chinese Tartary. This is followed by a history of recent events in those countries up to the expulsion last November of Abdul Malik, the son of the Amir of Bokhara, and the leader of the anti-Russian party, whom we lately heard of as Shere Ali's visitor in Affghanistan. Captain Trench next treats of the recent struggle in the last-named country, and of our policy in regard to the Amir.

The last two chapters treat of the strategical and political aspect of the Russo-Indian question, and to the generality of readers they will be the most interesting as containing the speculations of the writer in regard to the future. Indeed the Russo-Indian question has from the first been essentially speculative. It delights to escape from the thralldom of stubborn facts, in order to career in the free expanse of the wildest hypotheses. Few men are patient enough to investigate the *pros* and *cons* of the case; they imagine they see a certain crisis ahead, and clearing at a bound the intervening space, and adding the powers of a vivid imagination to a supposed *clairvoyance*, they conjure up a terrible picture of war and humiliation, the absurdity of which is generally transparent through its very exaggeration. We are glad to find that Captain Trench is not of this class. Though no quietist, he discusses the question in a calm and reasonable manner, which is sure to obtain for him a patient hearing.

After a minute examination of the possible conditions under which Russia might venture to undertake an invasion of India, Captain Trench arrives at the conclusion that such a project for many years to come must be regarded as chimerical. But while holding this view, Captain Trench foresees that a time is not far off when, without actually invading India, Russia may be able to take up such a position as seriously to menace the stability

of our rule, and so to cripple the resources of England. Such a proceeding would be the seizure of Balkh or Herat,—a *coup de main* which Captain Trench believes might easily be executed five or six years hence by a force of 10,000 men. And our author is doubtless right in laying stress upon the importance of this question from an English point of view. It is morally certain that Russia has not yet abandoned, and probably never will abandon, her designs upon Constantinople; and in the event of another Russian war breaking out in Europe, England would be seriously crippled by finding a Russian force in close proximity to her Indian frontier. Captain Trench indeed is of opinion that Russia is mainly extending her influences in Asia with a view to increasing her power in Europe; and we agree with him that the complications which he regards as quite within the limits of possibility cannot safely be ignored by the English cabinet. We have yet to learn the result of the negotiations which have lately been carried on between London and St. Petersburg, but it can scarcely be that our Government will put its trust in a matter of such moment in a mere treaty engagement.

Captain Trench is inclined to advocate the occupation of Kandahar by British troops—a measure which would have the effect of frustrating any attempt upon Herat. He also insists upon the importance of the Euphrates Valley Railway as a shorter and alternative route to India. We refrain from giving an opinion upon either point; but we think the writer has satisfactorily shown that we can no longer afford to sit idle, but must “be up and doing.” We can scarcely do better indeed than close this brief notice in the author’s own words:—“Any actual invasion of India can hardly (as already remarked) for many and many a year be deemed a probable contingency, and Russian statesmen, notwithstanding all that has been alleged by alarmists upon the subject have probably never, since the beginning of the present century, seriously contemplated the prosecution of so difficult and very doubtful an enterprise. Russia will, however, be able to serve her own ends, and to increase enormously our difficulties in the government of the country by measures which will fall far short of any such desperate step, and which will entail upon her scarcely any risk at all. Any one who has lived for any length of time in North-Western India requires no very deep acquaintance with the native character, or with the sentiments of the people, to know that our rule is not loved there, and there are assuredly many turbulent spirits among the border tribes who would gladly hail

“any opportunity of throwing off their allegiance to English rule. All over Asia the coming collision between the two rising powers is eagerly anticipated and discussed. The Oriental mind, instinctively connecting aggression with power, naturally regards the advances of Russia as a sign of strength, and does not, it is to be feared, appreciate or understand the calm confident position taken up by England, who is anxious to remain within her own borders and to consolidate her power in the empire she has acquired. The credulity, moreover, with which Asiatics, high and low, are always ready to swallow the most improbable tales regarding Russia, of which in reality they know nothing, will render her proximity to the Indian frontier, and the maintenance by her of a threatening attitude there, doubly dangerous, and will fan into a steady flame those sparks of disaffection which are ever smouldering in the minds of native politicians. It is therefore obvious that if we do not take every opportunity of strengthening our position while we may, we shall run the risk of becoming dependent on the forbearance of Russia for the tranquillity, or perhaps even for the security, of India; and that when such is the case, in any discussion in which our interests might choose to be opposed, or in which our opinions happen to be at variance, England will be forced to purchase that forbearance by a certain sacrifice, either of interest or of opinion; and that to permit Russia to occupy such a position must have an injurious effect on our policy all over the world.”

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*Notes upon the Central Asian Question.* By General Romanovski. St. Petersburg, 1867.

*The Central Asian Question from an Eastern standpoint.* London. Williams and Norgate. 1869.

WITHOUT desiring to enter here upon a discussion of the merits of any particular “view” of the much-debated Central Asian Difficulty, we may be allowed to commend the above works to our readers as two of the most interesting which have lately come under our notice.

The first, which is in Russian—no translation has, we believe, as yet appeared—is from the pen of General Romanovski, the ex-Governor-General of Russian-Turkistan,—a concise historical summary of Muscovite progress in Central Asia, regarded of course from an imperial point of view.

After referring to the interest felt in all parts of the empire in the "Central Asian Question,"—a term by which he appears to understand the immediate relations of Russia with the Native States upon her south-east frontier—M. Romanovski deplores the inadequacy of the information available respecting these countries. "In regard to the Kirghiz Steppes," he observes, "and of the lower districts of the Jaxartes, many interesting details may be culled from the well-known work of Levshine. But in all matters relating to Bokhara and the Khanates of Central Asia generally, our own literature, like that of other countries, is very deficient. The works of Vambéry, and of our own countrymen Khanikoff, Nikifiroff, Kulvein and others, who succeeded in penetrating into these parts, give a sufficient general insight into the modes of life and the character of the inhabitants, but are far from satisfying many points of inquiry which now need consideration." He expresses a hope that additional information and sounder views of all matters pertaining to these regions may be elicited by a thorough ventilation of the subject.

He then sketches the history of Russian colonization from the capture of Perm at the close of the fourteenth century to the completion of the line of frontier posts uniting the extremities of the Departments of Orenburg and West Siberia in 1854-64. The Russian advent to the Steppe countries he explains thus:—"Although the Kirghiz tribes had acknowledged allegiance to Russia during the first half of the eighteenth century, yet previous to the actual occupation of the Steppes, this allegiance was nominal rather than real. Many tribes calling themselves Russian subjects, not only entered into alliances with the Khanates and made war upon each other, but often attacked our caravans, and in some instances our very lines. Some of the tribes of the Orenburg Department remain in this state to the present hour. But as our lines were extended and developed, this state of affairs became insupportable. The necessity of protecting the tribes nearest to our frontiers, who had ceased to take part in these contentions, and who desired to devote themselves to peaceful pursuits, imposed upon us a moral obligation to move forward into the Steppes, and to establish posts there for the maintenance of order and the protection of the caravan-trade.

"The movement into the Steppes, and the formation of outlying military districts, commenced in 1820 in West Siberia. During the succeeding thirty years we gradually advanced;

"spreading ourselves throughout the whole extent of the Steppes. At the close of this period forts and advanced posts had been established along the whole of the vast area between the Ural and Irtysh to the north-east extremity of the Caspian, and the north end of Lake Aral on one side, and to the vale of Ili at the foot of the Tian-Schan on the other. In 1854 we had a large fort, Novo-Petroffsk, upon the Mangish-lak peninsula at the north-east extremity of the Caspian, and a line of posts extending along the Jaxartes (Syr-Daria) to a distance of 400 versts from its fall into Lake Aral. To keep up communications between the latter and the old frontier lines, numerous intermediate posts were built, and a whole brigade of Cossacks settled in the Steppes."

But the relations subsisting between Russia and the Central Asian Khanates, though improved, were still unsatisfactory; and considerable unoccupied spaces remained at various points of the new frontier, whither the refractory nomades were wont to resort, and set the Russian patrols at defiance. The occupation of these spaces was consequently urged very strongly by a Military Commission appointed by the Czar Nicholas in 1854 for the consideration of the affairs of the south-east frontier. After several years' delay, this service was performed in 1860 by joint expeditions from Orenburg and West Siberia; the former composed of 1,200, and the latter of 2,400 men. The detail of the latter corps is shown by the author as follows:—Cossack Cavalry, 350 men. Regular Infantry, 1,200. Provisional Battalion of Archers, formed out of the Archer Companies of the different Line Regiments serving in West Siberia, 600. Horse Artillery (with Howitzers) 200. Rocketers, 30. A few Artificers, Pioneers, &c. Two Electricians and two Topographers. The medical department was represented by 4 Officers and 4 Privates; the Commissariat by 2 Officers and 1 Private. A numerous train of camel waggons and pack-horses accompanied this strangely-constituted force.

It is observable that the total effective of the Russian troops in all the recent operations in Central Asia is shown by M. Romanovski of a strength far below that assigned to it in the public prints. His estimates of the numerical extent of the native populations are also much lower than those usually accepted; for example, the population of Khokand, within the former limits of the Khanate, and including the city of Tashkend, is placed at a million souls,—two-thirds less than the estimate formed by M. Vambéry.

M. Romanovski strongly advocates the present expediency of limiting the extension of the Russian dominions in Central Asia within suitable bounds; and this view, he states, was recognized by the Imperial Government at the period above referred to:—"The frontier line of posts having been completed, the Government sincerely desired that all further military operations should cease. This feeling was well known to every officer serving on the frontier at the time." But "unforeseen events, for which the Government was in nowise responsible, arose, which, without exaggeration, may be said to have placed all subsequent territorial acquisitions upon the map of Russia."

Five chapters are devoted to these events. The renewal of hostilities with Khokand in 1864-65—the formation of a "new Khokand line" of posts, a portion of the original frontier line having proved strategically untenable—the establishment of a Military District of Turkistan, to be under the orders of the Governor-General of Orenburg—the capture of Turkistan, Tchemkend, and Khodjend—the fall of Tashkend in June 1865—the re-organisation of the new command into a separate Governor-Generalship, comprising the two military districts of Syr-Daria and Semirytchinsk—the misunderstanding and cessation of trade with Bokhara—the defeat of the Amir's troops at Irdjar, by which the *prestige* formerly enjoyed by that potentate was finally destroyed—the annexation of the district of Namagan, and the remaining portions of the Syr-Daria Valley—and the operations against Bokhara up to the year 1867—are all noticed in succession. The seventh and last chapter reviews the progress of Central-Asian affairs up to the close of the latter year. The author expresses a hope that in regard of these matters, "we have already seen the beginning of the end." This hope, he says, is strengthened by a consideration of the commercial capabilities of the new command:—

"In the period between 1825-50, Russian trade with other European countries increased 43 per cent. With Central Asia during the same period it increased 300 per cent. With our present improved facilities, we may reasonably hope that it will be further developed. \* \* \* These hopes are confirmed by recent discoveries. Experiments have shown that the American kinds of cotton can be cultivated there very successfully, and that there is no want of suitable localities for the purpose, provided the means necessary for irrigation be forthcoming. In Khodjend, and beyond the Jaxartes generally, we have

"acquired possession of districts peculiarly rich in silks. Hopes are held out of gold and silver mines; and coal has been discovered within easy distance of the Jaxartes."

These remarks were written two years since. How far the author's hopes have been realized in the interim, we do not presume to decide. It may, however, be observed that sentiments closely akin to the above are said to have been recently expressed by the present Governor-General of Turkistan, General Kauffmann, on the occasion of a public banquet at St. Petersburg.

One hundred and sixty-five pages, or more than half the book, is occupied by an appendix containing extracts from the official reports of the principal military operations in this quarter during the last ten years, copies of general orders, and a large amount of statistical and other data. Much of the latter is necessarily and confessedly imperfect.

A beautiful map accompanies M. Romanovski's work. The whole of the country between the 32nd and 50th parallels of North Latitude, and the 18th and 56th degrees of East Longitude, counting from the meridian of St. Petersburg, is given on a scale of 1 : 4,200,000. The old and new lines of frontier posts, the existing and proposed routes across the Steppe, and many other details, are shown upon it. In districts which have been surveyed (particularly in the east and south-east portions), the ground is represented with a degree of minuteness and finish, which, taking into consideration the smallness of the scale, and the low price at which the book is issued—2 roubles—is worthy of all praise.

The second work,—"*The Central Asian Question from an Eastern standpoint*"—was originally published, as the preparatory advertisement informs us, in September last year for private circulation. "Some persons to whom it was sent, or others to whom they lent it, seem to have attached more importance to the author's remarks than he did himself, and the result was that the brochure was noticed by some writers in the public press as the '*blue pamphlet*'. Privacy, therefore, being no longer possible, the paper has been published at the request of a few who take sufficient interest in Eastern affairs to look below that smooth surface which covers the deep waters of Asiatic politics." The date of the present reprint is 2nd April 1869.

The writer who disclaims the character of a Russo-phobist or alarmist "in the opprobrious sense in which these terms are applied to the few who desire to see England alive to her own



interests in the East," states "that the object of his paper is not to criticise in a hostile spirit the acts of a Government of which he disapproves—a Government which, under the Governor-Generalship of Earl Canning, reached the zenith of dignity—but mainly to endeavour, by holding up a mirror to the Asiatic mind, to reflect the images those acts have produced therein." His style is terse and trenchant, and it will be conceded, even by those who dissent from certain of the conclusions at which he arrives, that his arguments are advanced with considerable ability, and display an intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs.

His views of Russian policy may be gathered from the following quotations:—

"The Oriental policy of Russia at home, so to speak, has long been an open book which those who run may read. It has been to establish, under the guise of a protectorate, a domination in the Turkish Empire, in the kingdom of Greece, and in all those countries now subject to, or protected by, the Porte and the Court of Athens. To attain this end, Russia has been working very steadily for the last half-century, but not openly. The antagonism of race, character and creed, existing between the Semitic and Aryan elements composing the population of those extensive regions, has been the sub-irritant ever ready to the hand of every Russian minister, when occasion seemed favorable for advancing the end to be attained. \* \* \* \* \* No matter what changes have taken place in the *personnel* of the Russian Government, no number of defeats have affected the persistence with which the Court of St. Petersburg has secretly but steadily pursued the grand object of its *politique*. The wave recedes but to advance at periodic intervals with almost regulated action. That this is the *domination*, not the *protection*, of the countries alluded to, I do not doubt; but that grand object is primary only in so far as it is the corner-stone in the edifice the Russian *idée* has erected as the ultimate and still grander aim of its ambition—the supremacy of Russia in Europe.

"Some people say 'Russia is bankrupt; her army is disorganised, and, in the most modern acceptance of the term, unarmed; her navy has been annihilated; in short, Russia has neither men, ships, nor money. No one consequently has anything to fear from Russia.' All this I grant in the present. Russia herself acknowledged it a few months ago by the attitude she instructed her minister to take up at the late

"Turko-Grecian Conference at Paris, and the subsequent letter of the Emperor of Russia to the King of Greece. But, nevertheless, the money markets of Europe are a far better test of the financial position of a country than you or I, kind reader ; and that Russia has borrowed £35,000,000 within the last few years without any difficulty whatever ; that a commission is at this moment sitting for the purpose of considering army reform ; and that Russia has laid down six iron-clads within the last six months, are facts worth all the essays and reviews we may write upon the Eastern Question.

"The situation, as it appears to me, is this. As long as the system of government was framed upon a semi-Asiatic model, or, if some prefer it, a semi-barbaric model, Europe had little to fear from her. A country so ruled can have little internal strength ; and without internal strength, no country can be aggressively very dangerous to powerful neighbours. But we have changed all that. Russia has been born again. She is an infant. She is yet barely ten years old. The present it is our duty to watch ; but it is the future of Russia upon which the cautious statesman has to exert his powers of thought. She has emancipated her serfs ; she is laying down a net-work of railways, which, when completed, will be the grandest system of iron roads in the world. She is perfecting this system, moreover, by means of foreign capital, £22,000,000 having been contributed by England, and £13,000,000 by the rest of the Continent of Europe. When Russia next tries to break down the balance of power, the rest of Europe will have a very different opponent to deal with from that which met England and France in 1855-56. Russia will then be nearer manhood. That Russia will make the attempt no sane man can doubt ! "

Those who talk of Russia advancing towards our Indian frontier with the sole object of wresting India from our grasp have not, he says, studied the game carefully. India is the Achilles-heel—the one point in the whole body-corporate of the mighty empire of Great Britain, in which England can be mortally wounded. "The day will probably come," he adds, "when Russia and England will be compelled to measure their strength on the plains of India ; but if Russia is wise, and it appears to me that she is wise, she will see that it is quite as much her interest as it is the interest of England, that that day should be postponed to as distant a date as possible. She will use India, however, as a lever to effect her objects in Europe, and hence it is that it would suit her purposes to have her

"confines in the East conterminous with ours, as many wise English politicians seem to wish."

We have further to acknowledge receipt of another interesting pamphlet, entitled "*The Cabul Question, being a detail of Central Asian events bearing on the question, and of geographical and other statistics connected with it*, by Trans-Indicus Olim. This pamphlet, which is "dedicated to the greatest living authority on this subject, Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.," is written in support of the Buffer policy, which has so much to recommend it, and which, we may now assume, has at last been formally adopted. *The Cabul Question* will well repay perusal.

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*Selections from unpublished records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 (inclusive), relating mainly to the Social Condition of Bengal, with a map of Calcutta in 1784.*  
By the Rev. J. Long, Member of the Government Record Commission. Vol. I. Calcutta, 1869.

MR. LONG'S name is probably a sufficient guarantee for the interest of any work to which it is attached and which relates to the social history of this country. The present volume is no exception. Mr. Long has followed in the footsteps of Messrs. Seton-Karr and Sandeman; but while they have been content to republish extracts from the Gazettes of last century, Mr. Long has presented us with a series of extracts from official documents which are now published for the first time. This volume may in reality be said to be the firstfruits of the Record Commission, and we are glad to hear that it is likely to be followed by the results of further labors in the same field. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of such works for the purposes of history. The history of British India in particular has not yet been truthfully presented, owing, as much as anything, to that exclusive spirit which so prejudicially governed the East India Company, and which would rather conceal the truth than reveal what might prove disagreeable or antagonistic to its interests.

But in order to be serviceable for the purposes of history, there are certain qualifications which these "materials" should possess. It is not sufficient that a certain judgment should be exhibited in their selection; it is all-important that they should be published with critical skill and accuracy. We trust Mr. Long will forgive us for saying that it is in this respect that

the volume now before us is somewhat deficient. We cannot help thinking the result would have been more satisfactory, had Mr. Long availed himself of the services of the Secretary to the Commission in the task of supervising the printing of this volume. It would also add to the value of such works if a uniform and correct system of spelling were adhered to, not perhaps in the extracts themselves, but at any rate in the editor's notes and precis. An orthography which is sufficiently exemplified in the spelling of such expressions as "the Phous-dar of Hugly," "the Sunderbunds," "a lac of rupis," is unworthy of a book of this stamp, as exhibiting neither scholarship, accuracy, nor even method. But though there is something in the editing of this book which detracts from its value, it is but just to give Mr. Long credit for the industry and intelligence which he has brought to bear upon his task. The index and the editorial notes alone bear witness to the labor which must have been bestowed upon the work, and to the peculiar qualifications which Mr. Long possesses for the elucidation of certain passages in the early history of British India.

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*Irrigation in India: the present state of the Question.*  
Allahabad. 1869.

THIS little pamphlet is a reprint of certain articles which originally appeared in the *Pioneer*, which the writer trusts may be of use and interest, not only to Government officials but to "those who are opposed to the exclusive action of the State in matters of public improvement, and who think that a better mode than the faulty guarantee system might be devised for the combination of private enterprise with Government control." The value of the *brochure* at the present moment is enhanced by the resolutions which have lately been arrived at by the Government in regard to Indian Railways; and we recommend its perusal to all who are interested in this important public question.

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*Third Annual Report of the Aëronautical Society of Great Britain* (for the year 1868). 1869.

THE third Annual Report of the *Aëronautical Society*, which, under the Presidency of the Duke of Argyll, now numbers above one hundred members, is before us in the modest form of a shilling-pamphlet, embodying a *résumé* of last year's proceedings, and a copy of the *Report upon the Exhibition of the Society* held at the Crystal Palace in June 1868.

"The numerous papers read before the Society during the past year," the Report states, "are proofs that much time, attention and money have been spent in endeavouring to solve the problem of aërial navigation. The number of patents which have been taken out for new forms of aërial machines and apparatus still average one per month. But though some of the experiments have been to the purpose, and not altogether in vain, attention must be called to the fact that the *all-important* question yet remains unsolved as to what is the power required to perform flight under various condition."

This problem, it proceeds to state, "may in a great measure be determined by *isolated experiment*; by *ascertaining the resistance, aërial friction*, and lifting power of *planes of various forms and angles set in currents* of air of *known velocity*. These experiments have never yet been made, and the data to be obtained from them must *certainly* be of value in aiding in the construction of aërial machines, which are now embodied by different inventors in the most random and contradictory manner."

The writer's meaning is not very happily expressed, and this defect, we may observe, is noticeable in many portions of the Report, but we presume that no doubt can exist as to the utility of experiments of the nature indicated.

The problem of making *balloons* practically available for transport and locomotion, remains, we are told, "still unsolved," but the designs for "flying machines" show "much talent and ingenuity, and lead to the hope that improvement in this branch of aëronautics may be advanced to an undefined extent." By the way, an opinion appears to obtain amongst many of the best informed members that in a "flying machine" *no speed* below one *hundred miles per hour* should be attempted or expected!

The Report, which has no publisher's name upon it, may be procured by non-subscribers from Messrs. Hamilton, Adams & Co., Paternoster Row, London.

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*Journal of the Ethnographical Society of London.* Part 1. Vol. I. London. 1869. Trübner & Co. (Three shillings per quarter.)

THE Ethnographical Society of London, which has been re-organised under the auspices of Professor Huxley, has published the first "Quarterly Part" of its *Journal* in a well-printed handy volume of some eighty pages octavo, with seven full-page illustrations. The names of Professor Huxley (the President), Sir J. Lubbock, Bart. and Mr. Hyde Clarke figure in the list of editors

The contents are varied and interesting, and the editorial functions, as might be expected, appear to have been discharged most carefully and judiciously.

Amongst the papers deserving special notice, we may cite "*The Westerly Drifting of Nomades*" by Mr. H. Howorth. The writer maintains that the study of pre-historic ages can only safely be approached through historic times; that by unravelling later changes we can alone hope to comprehend those of earlier date. The purport of the paper is to trace the immigration of the various nomade races which have overspread the great plains and steppes of Russia and Poland, the plains of Hungary, of Persia, and Asia-Minor since the fifth century,—a subject for the treatment of which the French Academy has twice offered a prize without response. The paper contains a good deal of curious information respecting the tribes of Central Asia, and is to be continued in a future part.

Equally interesting are Mr. Hyde Clarke's notes on the "*Proto-Ethnic Condition of Asia Minor*." He is disposed to question the Aryan origin of the Ionian mythology. He believes "that the Indo-Europeans adopted the gods and worship of anterior populations, applying to them an Indo-European nomenclature, and thus it has happened that scholars have been able to suggest etymological explanations of meanings and appellations which after all are long posterior to the things themselves." We regret we cannot find space for his curious researches respecting the old hill-mining tribes of this district, the Chalybes, and Idæi Dactyli, and their connection with the mythology of later times. The paper will well repay perusal.

Some observations by Col. Lane Fox upon Mr. Westropp's paper on "*Megalithic Structures*" suggest the advisability of classifying and systematizing our ethnographical knowledge, commencing with the materials already recorded, in published works, and reporting periodically upon the additions made to it.

Sir John Lubbock contributes a short paper upon the "*Stone implements lately found in the neighbourhood of Cape Town*" on the vast sandy flat which stretches away from the charming suburb of Wynberg along the shores of False Bay.\* They are from one to five inches in length, of coarse materials, rudely marked, and, as some of them show, have been made out of pebbles of no great size. None of them present any appearance of grinding. One specimen has the appearance

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\* It will be remembered that even the most degraded of South African tribes, the Bosjesmans, practise the smelting of iron with success.

of a "scraper" similar to the instruments still used by the Esquimaux in cleaning skins. Others resemble arrow-heads and sling-stones. All of them evidence a condition of abject barbarism.

"Notes upon child-bearing in Australia and New-Zealand" by J. Hooker, M.D., F.R.S., supply a form of report deserving the attention of medical officers, who may have an opportunity of pursuing enquiries on the subject amongst wild tribes and new countries.

The journal contains several other shorter papers. Some critical notices of recent publications are also appended.

An excellent feature in the work is the insertion of a few pages at the end for the reception of any "Notes and Queries" upon cognate subjects, which may be sent to the editors.

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*China and the Chinese; a general description of the country and its inhabitants; its civilization and forms of Government; its religious and social institutions; its intercourse with other nations; and its present condition and prospects.* By the Rev. John L. Nevius, Ten years a Missionary in China. With a map and illustrations. New York. 1869.

**B**ARRING the Americanisms which constantly interrupt and perplex the English reader, this little book is a valuable and intelligent representation of Chinese thought and manners at the present day. We do not mean to say that more complete works have not been written on the subject, but Mr. Nevius has in a small compass given a fund of interesting information which can only encourage his readers to pursue their enquiries into the history and circumstances of that remarkable nation which numbers nearly one-third of the whole human race, yet is, comparatively speaking, so little known to most of us even in the East. That the Chinese are a stereotyped race who have been growing tea, eating with chop-sticks, and wearing pig-tails almost from time immemorial, are facts which we all learnt at school; but there are probably few who care to investigate this wonderful people more closely, or to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with their lives and modes of thought. We are content to regard them as curiosities of antiquity, rather than as living specimens of the human race. And yet a more thorough acquaintance with the history and character of the Chinese is not less interesting to the philosopher

than to the antiquarian. Not only is their highly-organized administration a study in itself, but the complicated religious system which has resulted from the tenets of three men so different as Confucius (or Kung-fu-tse), Buddha and Lao-tse, affords the material for one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the religions of the world.

The book before us has of course its chief interest in being the work of an earnest and intelligent Missionary, who has laboured for ten years (not without success) in China, who has mastered its language and made himself conversant with Chinese customs and superstitions, and yet whose duties have neither narrowed his mind nor blunted his sympathies with the people. Indeed we may hope that Mr. Nevius is to be classed with that band of Missionaries who have not been behindhand, either in India or in Ceylon, in giving to the world the results of their literary labors, and in illustrating the true condition of the present by a careful study of the history of the past. Such occupations, Mr. Nevius himself points out, "are in the strictest sense Missionary work, and when successfully prosecuted, result in a most important advantage to the cause." The knowledge thereby gained is well likened to the resources with which an army is bound to provide itself before entering upon a campaign.

The missionary experience of Mr. Nevius in China is probably not very dissimilar to that of missionaries in this country; and he appears to have arrived at pretty nearly the same conclusions as regards the best method of proceeding. While recognizing the importance of oral instruction, so far as opportunities and circumstances admit, Mr. Nevius appears to acknowledge "the foolishness of preaching" in the common sense of the term. He does not believe in distributing the Bible broadcast, expecting it to be its own interpreter; while at the same time he is far from ignoring "the powerful agency of the press." In regard to schools, moreover, he sees in them one of the most valuable means of conversion, without being blind to the snare which they may become, if in order to attract pupils they hold out meretricious inducements. His experience on this point indeed is worth quoting. After attributing "the growing success of the Ningpo Mission in bringing souls to Christ, and establishing churches in our out-station," mainly to two boarding schools in Ningpo, he is forced to admit that "English boarding schools have added very little to the membership of Native Churches, or to the efficient working of the missions with which they have been connected."



"The facts and circumstances bearing upon the subject of teaching English are these: In China there is an urgent demand for interpreters who understand both the English and Chinese languages. The '*Pigeon-English*,' described in chapter XIV, is made to answer as a medium of communication for ordinary purposes of trade; but Chinamen, who can speak English well, are still much sought after, and command salaries from five to ten times as large as the same persons would receive if they were familiar with their own language only. Here is a strong temptation to draw boys acquainted with our language from Mission Schools even before the time of their indenture expires. Most of the pupils from those schools where English has been taught have yielded to these temptations, sought employment in the foreign communities, and been lost to the missions; and some of them have formed such habits, and acquired such characters, as to bring reproach upon themselves and the cause of missions with which they have been in a measure connected. If a few are hopefully converted, and retain their connection with the church and the mission, their knowledge of English gives them little or no additional influence with their countrymen; while they have acquired it at the expense of a thorough Chinese education, and can hardly secure the respect of their own people as literary men or teachers. More than this, they are apt to think that it is very moderate and reasonable for them to expect one-half or one-third as large a salary as they can command in the foreign communities; and thus, while a knowledge of English does not add to their efficiency as agents of the mission, it adds much to their expensiveness."

"Pigeon-English" is simply a corruption of the term "Business-English," and is applied to that strange jumble of English and foreign words which springs up wherever Englishmen are brought into contact with foreigners, and which may any day be heard in Cossitollah or the China Bazar. Mr. Nevius gives as an illustration of it the first three lines of "My name is Norval." The version runs as follows:—"My name b'long Norval. Top side Keh-lampian hill my fader chow-chow he sheep. My fader very small heartee man—too much likee dat piecie dollar."

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*Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal for the year 1868-69, with a Meteorological Abstract for the year 1868.*

IN this Report Mr. Blanford gives a very readable account of what is being done in the way of meteorological observation in Bengal. From it we learn that there are three classes of observing stations, at two of which complete observations are made, the rain-fall only being reported at the third. The first class consists of seven stations, the second of ten, and the third of thirty-six. The expenditure during the year amounted to some Rs. 14,000. Possibly it may be thought by some persons that the results are scarcely worthy of so large an outlay, but it must be remembered that meteorological science is still in its infancy, and that the value of the present investigations can only be fully appreciated by succeeding generations. Mr. Blanford is not only thoroughly competent for the post which he fills,—but, what is more his heart is evidently in his work, and he deserves the most ample encouragement.

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*The Confessions of Meajahn, Daroghah of Police, dictated by him and translated by a Mofussilite., Calcutta. Wyman & Co. 1869.*

THIS little book which purports to be a truthful narrative of events which took place not more than thirty years ago, reads more like a romance at the present day. Such is the remarkable change which has come over Bengal during that short period. "The Confessions of a Daroghah" relate to a period when the promotion of native subordinates depended upon the charms of their female relatives, when the value of an office was estimated rather by the opportunities for taking bribes than by the amount of the salary attached to it, and when for these and other reasons the law was not strong enough to protect either Native or European. Hence it was that almost every planter found himself thrown back upon his own defence, and at times was even compelled to act on the aggressive. Meajahn's Confessions are mainly occupied with the history of such affrays between the planters and zemindars, the former being personated by one Mr. Black, who is described as being in a constant state of feud with one Pretab Gangooly. The account of the skirmishes between these two parties, and of the various plots and stratagems which each employs against the other, would be interesting even if it

were wholly fictitious, but bearing as it does evident marks of truth, its interest becomes absorbing, and we are lost in amazement at the reflection that so exciting a picture of lawlessness should have been possible so short a time ago. "These Confessions," writes the author in his preface, "will serve to show to the new Police and the new school of Civilians how different were the official surroundings of their predecessors thirty years ago. In this transition period of Indian history, thirty years mark as great a space of time as a century in other countries; and before the incidents of the Mofussil life of those days are utterly forgotten, the writer has noted down his recollections in the hope that they may prove interesting to the old generation of planters and officials now rapidly passing away, and the new generation that has taken its place."

Such relations as these, moreover, are not only interesting as affording an illustration of social life in Bengal some years back, but also as evidencing the progress of law and order under the English rule. Indigo disputes, if not yet altogether unknown, are nevertheless comparatively rare. Increased salaries have given a considerable check to dishonesty amongst native subordinates, while the improved administration of our Courts has diminished the opportunities for bribery. A higher moral tone pervades the whole of the English community, and such questionable connections as that which led to the elevation of Meajahn, are happily discountenanced in the present day. It is at any rate gratifying to think that in these matters British rule has not been a curse to the people; that we have not abused our trust, but are sincerely striving to correct irregularities amongst ourselves as well as amongst the natives. In this manner we are taking the surest steps to consolidate our power, and to make our supremacy tolerable, if not acceptable, to the people at large.

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*Krilof's Fables, illustrating Russian Social Life.* Translated from the Russian for the Calcutta "Weekly Englishman." 1869.

KRILOF'S Fables are well worth a good English translation, and we are, therefore, glad to see that the edition which appeared of them in the *Englishman*, notwithstanding a little weakness in the syntax, has been reprinted. We have been unable, however, to discover any illustrations of Russian social life in them, unless the following is to be considered such:—

"*The man with three wives, or sin its own punishment.*"

"A certain gallant during the lifetime of his wife marries two other women. The king highly indignant, summons the judges to try the criminal, threatening them with hanging if they suffer the criminal to escape without a severe punishment. After long search the judges discover there is no punishment for trigamy, though a severe one for bigamy. They therefore decided the man should live with the three wives. The people murmur and exclaim that for such an offence this was no punishment at all. Was it not? In less than a week the man hung himself."

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#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Kādamvari Kāvya.* Part I. By Brajanāth Mitra. Calcutta. B. P. M's Press. B. E. 1276.

THIS is a poem in blank verse. The writer tells us in the preface that his poem is not a poetical version of the well-known Sanskrit book, *Kādamvari*. The character *Kādamvari* in the poem before us is the daughter of *Vārūnī* who is married to king *Kāli*. We regret to say that the poem is utterly worthless; there is not a spark of poetic fire in it from beginning to end.

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*Visva-Sobhā; or the Beauties of Nature.* By Kailāsbāsinī Devi. Calcutta. Gupta Press. Sākāyda 1790.

THIS is, we believe, the third book from the prolific pen of Mrs. Gupta. Her two first works contained interesting descriptions of the women of Bengal, and suggestions for the amelioration of their condition. The little book before us is of a different character. In prose and verse our gifted authoress discourses on the "Dawn," "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter," "Spring," the "Rainy Season," on "Dew," on the "Human Body," and on "Parental Affection." Though the performance is creditable, we scarcely think it will add to the reputation which the writer has acquired by her previous works. The verse of Kailāsbāsinī is below mediocrity, and we should strongly dissuade her from attempting poetry again. Why does she not try her hand at a novel?

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*Saivalinī.* By Jaya Gopal Gosvāmi, Pundit of Santipore School. Calcutta. Stanhope Press. B. E. 1276.

THIS is a novel of the romantic school. It describes the adventures of a young man of the name of *Sārat Kumār*,

whose sweetheart is Saivalini. At the commencement of the story he is found waiting for the ferry-boat on the banks of the Bhágirathí, opposite Azimganj, not far from Murshedabad. He crosses the river at night, and wonderfully rescues a child who was about to be offered in sacrifice by some Vámacháris. In the house of the parents of this rescued child he meets Saivalini, the daughter of a Kulin Brahman, and falls in love with her. After a world of adventures with robbers and tigers, with Thugs and Yogis, he becomes united to the maid of his choice. Saivalini's adventures are, if possible, still more wonderful. In a miraculous manner she rescues Sárat Kumár from the murderous hands of her own brothers; she then loses sight of him for many years; is captured by Monaim Khan, one of Akbar's generals, and kept confined in a castle at Bír-bhum, whence she is delivered by an old Achárjya; becomes a Yogi, and takes her abode in a hill-cave near Sumbhulpur amongst other Yogis who do not know her sex, and there meets her own Sárat, who finds himself there in the course of his wanderings. The parallel story of Aparná and her lover is equally full of romantic adventures. As regards mere style the book is well written; but there is no *vraisemblance* in the plot or the leading incidents. One exception perhaps we should make. Sárat is a genuine Bengali hero; he always takes to his heels whenever there is a show of fight, and calmly looks on while a woman is being ill-treated in his presence.

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*Asurodváha Náataka.* By a Srotíya Bráhmaṇ. Calcutta B. P. M.'s Press. B. E. 1276.

THE Bengali drama has become a weariness to the flesh. Every native of Bengal who can put two sentences together sets himself up for a dramatist, and plagues society with that literary nuisance called a *náataka*. If Sophocles, Kalidas or Shakespeare, were to rise from the grave, with what contempt would the immortal shade frown upon the Bengali dramatist! "Suppose," says Aristotle, "any one to string together a number of speeches, in which the manners are strongly marked, the language and the sentiments well turned, this will not be sufficient to produce the proper effect of tragedy." But our Bengali dramatist is of another opinion. Hence Bengali literature is flooded with those wretched dialogues dignified with the name of dramas. The present performance is no exception to this remark: There is no complication of plot; the incidents are all sensational; and the conclusion—the drowning of a poor

girl—is melodramatic in the extreme. The object of the writer, however, is good, viz., the exposure of the evils of the system of selling daughters as it is called, that is to say, of exacting a large sum of money by parents when they give away their daughters in marriage. But the writer has overdone the thing. The passing off of a widow for a spinster is an act so unusual, that it should never have been made the subject of a drama.

- 1.—*Tattva-vidyā*. Part IV. On Devotion. By Dvijendranāth Thākur. Calcutta. New Sanskrit Press. Samvat 1926.
- 2.—*Gyān-Latikā*. Calcutta. B. P. M.'s Press, B. E. 1278.
- 3.—*Bhakti-virodhidiger Apatti-khandan*. By Thakurdāsa Sena. Calcutta. "Indian Mirror" Press. Sakabda 1791.

WE have put these three pamphlets together, as they all relate to the principles and practices of the Calcutta Brāhmas. The first pamphlet has been issued under the auspices of the *Adi* or old Brāhma Samāj, and the latter two are written by Brāhmas of the new school. Babu Dvijendranāth Thākur in the fourth part of his *Tattva-vidyā* establishes and illustrates the proposition that in devotion or the worship of God three things are necessary, viz., *chintā* (meditation), *spriha* (feeling), and *yatna* (exertion). Of meditation there are three parts, viz., *dhāranā*, that is, abstracting the mind from all foreign considerations; *dhyān*, that is, directing the powers of the mind towards God; and *samādhi*, that is, rapt contemplation. There are also three stages of religious feeling, viz., *asakti* (desire), *vyākulata* (vehemence), and *ānanda-bhoga* (rapture). Exertion (*yatna*) is also of a three-fold character, viz., *pratigna* (determination), *udyam* (practice), and *adhyavāsāya* (incessant application). The author deserves great praise for the clear and perspicuous manner in which he has brought these high subjects before his countrymen.

Of *Gyān-Latika*, or the Creeper of Knowledge, we need say nothing, as it is a translation or rather a paraphrase in Bengali of the Brāhma tract in English on "Atonement and Salvation." The third on the list is a well-written tract by Babu Thākurdāsa Sena, and treats of a religious phase lately manifested among the Brāhmas of the new school. It appears from the pamphlet that about a year ago some of what are called the advanced Brāhmas began to render Divine homage to their leader Babu Kesava Chandra Sena. On this a hue and cry was raised that the advanced Brāhmas had retrograded to man-worship. The cry became louder when it was found that the leader himself did not prevent any of his followers from

offering to him that worship which was due to God alone. We are assured by our Author that the evil effects of this scandal were great. Divisions arose amongst the advanced Bráhmās; brother was estranged from brother, and there were some who did not hesitate to call their leader a hypocrite and an impostor. To throw oil on the troubled waters Babu Thákurdass Sena brings out his pamphlet. The *brochure* is certainly written in a very conciliatory spirit. It shows that the religion of the Bráhma Samáj inculcates the worship of one God only; that the adoration of man is inconsistent with its genius; that six or seven persons only were in the habit of worshipping their leader and spiritual guide; and that Babu Kesava Chandra Sena is a man of great humility of character, and of true piety, and that therefore he could not be guilty of the blasphemy of regarding himself as God. And to crown all, our author gives in black and white Babu Kesava Chandra Sena's own word for it, that he does not think himself to be God. The most interesting part of the pamphlet is that which contains the correspondence of our author with Babu Kesava Chandra Sena. Our author, shocked at the scandal which was distracting the Bráhma community, and puzzled at the leader's silence, wrote him a letter, requesting categorical answers to the four following questions:—

- 1.—“Can man become the saviour of sinners?”
- 2.—“What are the limits of religious trust in man?”
- 3.—“Is it your belief that if you pray for sinners as their mediator, they will obtain salvation?”
- 4.—“Do you approve of that mode of religious reverence which some Bráhmās show you? If you do not, why do you not stop it?”

To these questions Babu Kesava Chandra Sena returned the following replies:—

- 1.—“God only is the saviour of sinners, though man and the inanimate world may be helpful in the path of salvation. Holy men do us great good by their discourses and their example.
- 2.—“It is our duty to love all men as brethren, and especial reverence is due to parents, spiritual teachers (*Āchārjya*), and other honorable persons. Reverence to spiritual guides (*guru*), and ministering to holy men, can never be condemned. But to call a spiritual guide or a holy man God (*Purna-Brahma*), or God's equal, or His alone infallible incarnation, is contrary to the Bráhma religion.
- 3.—“I was never under the delusion that if I prayed to God as a mediator, God would, for my intercession or my righteous-

"ness, forgive the sins of another, or grant him salvation. But  
 "at the same time I believe this, that it is our duty to pray for  
 "one another in a candid spirit, and that the merciful God  
 "hears such prayer if offered in faith.

4.—"I do not approve of that mode of religious reverence  
 "which some Bráhmashow me; *first*, because I am not worthy  
 "of it \* \* \* and, *secondly*, because, in my opinion, out-  
 "ward demonstrations of reverence are unnecessary \* \* \*  
 "There are good reasons why I did not prevent this demonstra-  
 "tion towards myself, either by direct command or by the exer-  
 "cise of discipline. *First*, I was certain that such demonstra-  
 "tions of reverence would not be lasting \* \* \* *Secondly*,  
 "I have no right to interfere with the liberty of other people  
 " \* \* \* While teaching, it is not my manner to say—"Do  
 "this," or "Do not do this."

What effect these declarations on the part of Babu Kesava Chandra Sena will produce on the Bráhmash of the new school, it is impossible for us to say. That they will tend, to a certain extent, to allay the storm, the evil consequences of which Babu Thákurdása Sena mourns over in the pamphlet before us, is undoubted. It is something for the followers of Kesava Babu to learn that he does not look upon himself either as God or as a mediator. Formerly they were in doubt about it, but now the oracle has spoken; and the author of the pamphlet before us deserves well of his co-religionists for having extorted a response from the great master of the sect. It is doubtful, however, whether they will be satisfied with the reasons which their leader has given for not having hitherto prevented his admirers from offering him almost Divine homage. His first reason is that he was certain those demonstrations would not last long; or, in other words, as if he had said to himself, "I am certain  
 "they will not always worship me as God and Mediator; their  
 "zeal will certainly soon evaporate. Such being the case, why  
 "should I refuse, for a short time only, to be adored as a God?"  
 The principle of this argument is that it is not wrong to allow one's self to be worshipped as a God for a short time only, though it is wrong to allow one's self to be worshipped as God always. The second reason is as unsatisfactory as the first. "Who am I that I should interfere with the liberties and inclinations of others? If, in the overflow of religious emotion, some of my brethren worship me as God, who am I that I should dissuade them from the impiety? Is it not my duty rather to *suffer* the adoration, than to infringe upon the sacred principles of



religious liberty by the interposition of my veto ? " It is recorded of two early preachers of Christianity, Paul and Barnabas, that when they performed a miracle in a city in Asia Minor, the inhabitants of that city exclaimed,—“The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men,” and proceeded to worship the Apostles. On perceiving this the two preachers “rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things ? We also are men of like passions with you.” Poor Paul and Barnabas ! How little they understood the principles of religious liberty which were to govern the world some eighteen hundred years later !

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*Kavitāmalā.* By Trailakya Mohan Niyogī. Dacca. Sulobha Press. 1869.

THE peculiar feature of this little tract in verse is that it is entirely composed of words of single consonants, similar to the “History of Joseph” and other of Mr. Dalton’s compositions in English which are written in monosyllables. We fail to see any particular merit in these compositions. By the systematic avoidance of dissyllables and double consonants, unusual words are used, which children, for whom alone such books are written, have never heard. It is superfluous to remark that there is no poetry at all in these pages. We perceive that the tract is written by a student of the Dacca College. It is a pity that the young man should divert his attention from his college studies, and fritter away his time in the composition of such a perilous heap of trash.

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*Ākāla Kusuma ; or the Princess of Ajmere.* By Kālībar Bhattāchārya. Calcutta. Suchāru Press. 1869.

KIRTTI Chandra, Raja of Ajmīr, of the Gehelot race of Rajputs, had a daughter of the name of Indumatī, of whom he was excessively fond, as she was his only child. The girl was always with her father, whether he was engaged in affairs of State or of pleasure. One day while hunting in a neighbouring forest, the princess lost her way, and being attacked by a tiger, was saved by Ajaya Chandra, a young prince of the Rāhtor family of Kanauj, who happened to pass that way. The prince and the princess fell in love with each other, but they found to their surprise that they belonged to two rival houses,—the houses of Rāhtor and Gehelot, like those of Montague and Capulet, were separated by an eternal feud. The Raja, who with

a party of horsemen had roamed over the jungle in search of his daughter, found her at last in the evening sitting alone under a tree, the Ráhtor prince having skulked away on seeing the approach of the troopers. The father of course heard nothing of his daughter's encounter with the young prince of the hated house of Ráhtor. The princess, however, was deep in love, which she diligently nursed with the assistance of a memorial Ajaya Chandra had left with her—his own trusty sword, on which the young prince's name was engraved. This sword she kept concealed under her bed-clothes. As Indumatí grew in years, her royal parents determined to give her in marriage to the young prince of Jodhpur. The day of the wedding was fixed, and the necessary preparations were made. On the eve of marriage the princess told her maids in attendance that she was averse to the union. The old king and his consort, disconcerted at this news, repaired to the bed-room of the princess with a view to persuade her to the union. While the old king was sitting on his daughter's cot, the hilt of a sword lying under the bed-clothes met his eye. He took it out, and found to his horror the name of the young prince of the hostile house of Ráhtor engraved on it. His anger knew no bounds. He suspected his daughter of unchastity, and would have instantly plunged the same sword in the person of the princess, had he not been prevented from doing so by his consort. He vowed revenge on the house of Ráhtor, and determined next morning to lead an army against Kanauj. Ajaya Chandra of Kanauj, having been apprized by a private letter from Indumatí of the intentions of her father, seized time by the forelock, marched out with an army, and encamped before Ajmír. A battle was fought in which the Raja of Ajmír was killed by Ajaya Chandra's own hand. The victorious prince of the house of Ráhtor rushed towards the palace to gain possession of the object of his passion, whom he had visited the previous night in the course of a romantic adventure. But horrible to relate, he found the princess in the midst of a funeral pile into which she had thrown herself after she had learnt of the fate of her father which she attributed to her own ill-starred passion. The Ráhtor prince, unable to control his feelings, entered the pile and perished in the flames.

Such is the story of the novel before us. It is unnecessary to remark that the plot is not faultless. We are not told how the Ráhtor prince happened to come to the spot where Indumatí was being attacked by a tiger. The incident of Ajaya

Chandra's visiting the princess in her own room in her father's palace on the night previous to the battle, baffling the watchful eyes of innumerable guards, is so improbable, so clumsy, and adds so little to the interest of the story, that we wonder at the writer's introducing it at all. There are other faults of a minor character which arise probably from the writer's ignorance of the English language. He seems to have no notion of geography. Kanauj is placed at the distance of an easy march from Ajmír; the physical aspect of Rajputana is inaccurately described, while we are gravely told at the commencement of the story that the Narbadda flows "at no great distance" from Ajmír. But, notwithstanding these blemishes, it would be unjust to deny that the book has great merits. The story is well told, though it is borrowed, we believe, from the *Oriental Annual* of 1837. The catastrophe leaves an awful impression on the mind. Our author seems to be a well-read Sanskrit scholar, and some of his descriptions partake of the richness of the glowing imagery of Kalidás. The book is written in prose, but it is poetic prose. Indeed, it would have been better if our author, instead of writing the story in prose, had converted it into a tragedy in verse. As a piece of prose composition, it is too flowery, too imaginative, too metaphorical. But these very defects would have been regarded as beauties in a poem. To compare small things with great, the story reminds us of the *Antigone* of Sophocles. Indumatí is Antigone, and the Ráhtor prince is Hæmon, the son of Creon, and their fate is not dissimilar, though the moral of the two stories is somewhat different. In our opinion, Pundit Kálíbar Bháttachárya has underestimated his own powers; let him leave off prose and take to verse, and he may yet be a successful tragedian.

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*Rushiyára Sankshipta Itihása; or A Brief Survey of the History of Russia.* By Balái Chánd Sana, Author of "Biláp Lahari" and "Kalki Purana." Calcutta. Padya Prakása Press. 1869.

AS the title indicates, this tract is a *résumé* of the history of Russia. And the "survey" must be "brief" indeed, when it is considered that the whole history of Russia, from the foundation of the empire to the accession of the present Czar, is recounted in thirty-four small duodecimo pages. Whether the writer is preparing his countrymen for a possible Russian invasion of India by enlightening them in the history of that colossal empire, we know not; we have not, at any rate, found in

the pamphlet any anti-English or philo-Russian tendency. The most noticeable feature of the tract, is its dedication. It is dedicated, not to any human being, but to 'Almighty God.' As our readers may like to see a sample of this novel style of dedication, we translate it for their benefit: "O ocean of mercy, Hari, the Father of the universe! It is only through Thy favor that I am holding this life. From the time that I have been ushered into this world, I have been attacked by various diseases, even to the length of being nearly blind; but it is only through Thy favor that my eye-sight has been restored me. When as a little boy I was bathing in the Bhagirathi, and was drowning, it was Thou only that didst save this ungrateful sinner. And when again I had become almost senseless through fever, it was only through Thy mercy that this poor wretch obtained safety. My body and life are indebted to Thy mercy. I therefore dedicate this little book to Thee. Thine ungrateful son, Balai Chand Sena."

Lest this valuable "History of Russia" should be appropriated by others, and surreptitious editions or translations be issued, the Babu has taken the precaution, like reputable European authors, of notifying at the bottom of the title-page, "All rights reserved."

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*Kānta Vichheda.* By Kedarnath Sena Gupta. Calcutta. Padyā Prakāś Press. B. E. 1276.

THIS tract of twelve pages of unpoetical verse contains a silly story of a young man who went to a distant country in search of a situation, leaving his handsome wife alone at home. An acquaintance and so-called friend of the young man attempts the chastity of the wife, and fails; on which he sends a lying letter to the husband charged with the most heinous accusations against his wife. The enraged husband returns home, puts away his wife without investigating the charge of infidelity brought against her; on which the poor injured woman strangles herself to death with a rope. We wish a sort of literary strangulation were invented for writers like the author of the *Kānta Vichheda*.

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*Strīdharma-nīrnaya*, together with a translation. Berhampore. Satya-ratna Press. Sakāyda 1791.

THIS book is a compilation, both in Sanskrit and Bengali, of the duties of married women and of widows, from the

Mahabharat, the institutes of Manu, the Puranas, and several law-tracts. It is filled with Puranic legends, and contains passages of gross indelicacy, borrowed of course from the Hindu Sastras. The publication of such a book cannot exercise a beneficial influence on public morals.

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*Vatris-Singhasana*: Or the Life of Vikramaditya, famous King of Dharnagar. A delineation of the wisdom of ancient Indian Sages, comprising Moral Lessons, garbed in tales by thirty-two images, supporting his unique throne. For the use of European and Native Students. Edited by Jointy Chunder Sein, of Calcutta, Shobhabazar. The sale proceeds to form a small famine fund for some exigent place in Bengal. Calcutta. Hindoo Press. 1869. Price 5 Rupees per copy.

WHAT on earth is the use of an English title-page to a Bengali book? It would at the best be out of place if the English were really intelligible; but Babu Jointy Chunder Sein, of Shobhabazar, has made himself doubly ridiculous by putting to a Bengali book a title-page in a language of which the words are certainly English, but the sense of which it is impossible for the life of us to discover. Here we have "a delineation" of the wisdom of ancient Indian sages "comprising moral lessons"; and these "moral lessons" are "garbed" in tales by thirty-two images, which images support the "unique" throne of Vikramaditya. This may be *Shobhabazar English*, but it is certainly not the Queen's. But perhaps our criticism should be less severe, when we remember that the editor is animated by philanthropy. He tells us that the proceeds of the book are to form a famine fund for some "exigent place" (whatever that may mean) in Bengal. But it is unfortunate that the editor's Bengali is almost of a piece with his English. It is full of solecism, impropriety and barbarism. We cannot say that the present edition in verse is an improvement on the old edition in prose. The versification is faulty in the extreme, often violating the laws of metre and of harmony. With regard to the intelligence of the editor, it may be sufficient for our readers to know that in the preface he proves the probable existence of giants in ancient times by the consideration that God can do all things, and that in Europe human bones have been discovered which must have been the bones of men four or even eight times the size of the present human race. And we are further told in this valuable preface that God sent Vikramaditya to Bengal (*sic*) at the commencement of the

Kali Yuga for the spread of true religion. 'Altogether the prospects of the "famine fund" are not cheerful.'

*Nitigarbha Prasāti Prasanga.* By Jagat Chundra Majumdār. Kāvya-Prakāśa Press. Calcutta. B. E. 1276.

THE object of this book is to describe the sorrow and distress which mothers suffer at the hands of ungrateful sons. In illustration of the subject the author tells two stories, both of which are, in our opinion, improbable. There is no country perhaps in the world where the parental and filial affections are developed to such an extent as in India. A story, therefore, which represents a Bengali inveigling his parents on pretence of pilgrimage to a waste howling wilderness, robbing them of all their money, and leaving them to perish there of starvation, seems to be utterly beyond the bounds of probability. The writer evidently has great facility in composition, but his style is metaphorical to a fault. Take the following as an example:—"So long as the son swam in the tank of infancy, his parents exercised some control over him; but, alas! when he was drowned in the rapid current of the wave of adolescence, it was impossible for them any longer to control him." Every page abounds in similar expressions. Another fault of the writer's style is the excessive use of interjections. The particle *āhā* (alas!) occurs at least three or four times in every page of the book. On the whole, the characteristics of the performance before us are a luxuriance of turgid phraseology and a singular poverty of thought.





## THE QUARTER.

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IN entering upon a retrospect of the events of the past quarter, we are introducing a novel feature into the *Calcutta Review*, but one which, we believe, will be neither alien from its character nor unacceptable to its supporters. We propose at the end of each number to write a short chapter of contemporary history read by the light of after-experience. Owing to the recent occurrence of the facts of which we may treat, we shall do no more than refer to them incidentally, taking for granted, as it were, the *data* upon which our conclusions will be founded. Our object is not that of the journalist, and "The Quarter" will therefore not contain news. Our proper function is rather that of the critic, and our aim will be to review contemporaneous events with the view of extracting the truth. It may be that, in particular cases, the expiration of a month or two is not sufficient to exhibit circumstances in their true character, but still we shall always have the advantage of writing after the event, when men's passions have calmed down, and truth is not distorted by party spirit. And in our treatment of the matters which come before us, whether political, social or ecclesiastical, we shall endeavour to be strictly impartial, awarding praise or blame respectively, where it seems to us that praise or blame is due. At the same time our chronicle will deal with measures rather than with men; and though it may not always be possible to avoid being personal, we shall endeavour to frame our comments upon the conduct of those who pass in review before us in the true spirit of fair and honest criticism.

We propose further to make our review of contemporaneous literature much more complete than it has been hitherto. It is true that we do not yet possess a very extensive Anglo-Indian literature, but we may venture to say that the catalogue of works having reference to the East is now-a-days receiving vast and valuable additions. And we shall not confine ourselves necessarily to reviews of Anglo-Indian books. We believe that many of our readers like to be reminded at times of dear old England and what is stirring there. We must confess ourselves to experiencing a pleasurable relief, when we can find time, amid the pressing duties of an Indian career, to turn our attention for



half an hour or so, to the contemplation of the words and writings of our fellow-countrymen at home,—to watch the issues of political contests,—to gain even a partial insight into the great motives which are occupying the thoughts, and influencing the actions, of the foremost minds in Europe. We utterly scout the idea that the *Calcutta Review* is debarred from the treatment of home topics: with equal justice it might be contended that the *Westminster* should be confined to the precincts of the Abbey, or that the *Edinburgh* has no business to transgress beyond the border.

In the department of vernacular literature—a department which has been too much neglected hitherto—there is a great work of criticism incumbent upon us. With the spread of education, native literature is assuming enormous dimensions, and exercising an influence proportionate to its extension. But in its tone, we regret to say, there has been little or no improvement; it is, in fact, characterised by the same indelicacy of sentiment and by the same want of originality as formed the subject of complaint thirty years ago. There are a large number of native books, which, if published in England, would only issue from the press to find their way into the police-court, but in this country such books are published with impunity. If they do relate to indecencies, they are the indecencies inherent in a mythology which is still the religion of the lower orders, and the Government may perhaps reasonably hesitate to interfere. But a critical *Review* is bound by no such political considerations, and we shall endeavour to apply the lash or the pruning-knife wherever it seems to us to be required. In the same way vernacular books, which exhibit talent, ability, or even honest and industrious compilation, will receive from us such encouragement as may, we trust, contribute to the cultivation of these qualities among the fellow-countrymen of the writers.

In all this it may be said that we are undertaking a Herculean task, and it is true that, unaided, we should be utterly unable to perform it. But we have been promised able and competent assistance, and we believe that such assistance will be forthcoming even from other sources than those from which we have received assurances. We are proud to say that the supporters of, and contributors to the *Calcutta Review*, are not now fewer or less influential than they have ever been of late.

The great political event of the past quarter has naturally been the interview at Umballa between England's Viceroy and the Ameer of Afghanistan. Although the issue of the

negotiations has not yet transpired, the success of the Durbar is beyond dispute. Even if no regular treaty has been entered into, it may safely be assumed that the British Government has, at last, come to an understanding with the Ameer, and that the Ameer, however he may disapprove of our past policy towards him, has now a more profound respect for the English than he ever entertained before. The Umballa Durbar was only the natural outcome of Lord Lawrence's foreign policy, and was acknowledged by him as such in the House of Lords. Anything, therefore, so decided as an alliance offensive and defensive with Affghanistan—an alliance which any day might plunge us into hostilities and difficulties which it is impossible to foresee—would scarcely be in accordance with that "masterly inactivity" which the late Viceroy's apologists have pleaded as the noblest vindication of his policy. On the other hand, to cultivate more intimate relations with the Ameer, to afford him such moderate assistance as may enable him to consolidate his power, and finally to impress him with a sense of the advantages which he may derive from a closer intercourse with India—these were surely objects worthy of the occasion, and fully in accord with that policy which has so carefully abstained from interference in the affairs of Affghanistan. Lord Lawrence has been blamed, because, after having recognized Shere Ali as his father's rightful heir and successor, he subsequently acknowledged Afzul Khan as the virtual ruler of those provinces he had wrested from his brother. It has been urged that this proceeding has only had the effect of prolonging the disturbances that are not yet at an end in that unhappy country. But, as it seems to us, two courses lay open to our Government; and the event has proved that Lord Lawrence acted wisely in choosing the more cautious of the two. Had we resolved, some years ago, to support Shere Ali, or any of the numerous pretenders to the throne, the consequence must have been a tedious and expensive campaign, possibly terminating in annexation, and most certainly precipitating that collision with Russia, which it is our avowed object to avoid as long as possible. If such a policy had been popular in India, it would assuredly have been condemned both in England and throughout Europe; and the name of Lawrence would have shared the infamy which the disasters of 1840-41 brought on that of Auckland. On the other hand, by waiting until some one Chief should, by his personal character and exertions, succeed in making himself *de facto* Ameer, we certainly risked something, had

Russia been in a position to take advantage of the crisis ; but, as subsequent events have proved, the risk was very small.

The Indian Government naturally wishes to see some settled administration upon its north-west frontier, some independent State strong and powerful enough to oppose any encroachment which Russia may desire to make in that direction. But we do not desire to be the king-makers in Afghanistan, or to interfere further in the affairs of that country than will suffice to attain the object in view. Shere Ali has now shown himself to be a man of energy and ability, and if Lord Mayo believes that he is competent, with moderate assistance, to establish his rule as firmly as that of his father Dost Mahomed, it is to our advantage to lend him that assistance, and to acknowledge him publicly as the rightful Ameer. We have lately done both, and there is every prospect of our policy being crowned with success. That Shere Ali has not taken umbrage at our former treatment of him, is shown by his coming to court more intimate relations with us ; but if any little grievance on this score did remain, the honors which were heaped upon him the other day at Umballa were probably sufficient to remove every trace of it. Shere Ali saw himself received by the representative of Her Majesty with truly regal honors, and must indeed have felt himself acknowledged as a veritable king. When once the present troublous times are over, and peace has returned to bless Afghanistan, Shere Ali will be the first to recognize the wisdom of our forbearance from interference in the struggle, and to congratulate himself on having won back his kingdom by his own unaided arm.

It was a master-stroke to fix upon Umballa as the place of meeting. To reach Umballa, the Ameer must needs traverse nearly the whole breadth of the Punjab. It was thus the Ameer who came to seek the Governor-General ; it was not the British Viceroy who went out of his way to court the Ameer. Nor was this all. For five hundred miles Shere Ali had ocular demonstration of the prosperity and wealth, which are the sure accompaniments of a firm and peaceful rule. For the whole distance he passed through one gigantic garrison—a garrison, moreover, composed mainly of British troops. Indeed, one of the chief results of the Ameer's visit has been, that he has returned to Afghanistan deeply impressed by what he has seen of the power and resources of the British Government in India. And to this end the arrangements appear to have been made. The Durbar itself was not remarkable for the splendour

and brilliancy of its incidents; as a gay assemblage of feudatory Chiefs glittering with "barbaric gold and Orient pearl," it fell far short of the Agra Durbar in 1866. But it was intended to be rather a magnificent camp, typical of the vast military strength of the country. To render that camp the more imposing, every available British officer and every British regiment that could be spared from the vicinity, were drawn together. And, similarly, it was with reviews, parades and sham fights, that the Viceroy sought to amuse his illustrious visitor, and that not so much because such pursuits are most congenial to Shere Ali's individual tastes, as with the express object of displaying the superior efficiency of our Sniders and Armstrongs.

For these reasons the Umballa Durbar will figure in history as one of the most prudent and politic arrangements of which Oriental annals can boast. Without committing ourselves in the least, we have made a firm ally of Afghanistan, and impressed its ruler with an exalted sense of our power. We have not cringed to the Ameer for this alliance; it has not been purchased at the Ameer's price: we have shown no weak anxiety regarding the progress of Russia in the East; but we have so ordered our policy as to bring the Ameer to solicit the alliance himself. And then, when he came, we showed him the strength, as well as the gentleness, or indifference, of the British lion. We confirmed him in the belief that our alliance is worth having, and that our enmity might prove unpleasant. It may be doubted whether Russia could have produced the same impression even had she had the opportunity, and ventured to take advantage of it. Her conquests are of too recent a date, and her armies too far from the base of their operations. It is only natural, therefore, that some of the Russian journals should have taken umbrage at the line of policy adopted by us. After a long period of hesitation—or vacillation, as perhaps they thought—we have suddenly stolen a march upon them. They wake to find us hand and glove with the Ameer, and that not of our seeking. And Shere Ali, as we may believe, fully appreciates the value of an alliance with the British, and so long as he lives, there is probably little cause for uneasiness as to our relations with Afghanistan. What may happen on his death, is of course hid in the counsels of an inscrutable Providence.

The past quarter has been big with promise and encouragement for the educated natives of this country. It gives us great

pleasure to record that one Bombay and three Bengali gentlemen are among the selected candidates who have been successful in the late examination for the India Civil Service.\* We congratulate these gentlemen upon the honor they have done themselves and their country. Their success will doubtless encourage many others to follow their example. The highest prizes in the political arena of the East have now been proved to be within the reach of the educated natives of India; and we can scarcely suppose that they will hesitate to put forth their hands and take of the golden fruit. But this is not all. During the last few weeks an Act has passed the House of Lords which provides for the direct appointment of natives in this country to the Covenanted Civil Service without the necessity for a previous competitive examination in England. This is a measure of political significance, and seems to us to be open to considerable objection. In the first place, the success of no less than four native gentlemen in the late examination has practically demonstrated the falsity of the assertion that the Civil Service was closed to the natives of the country. It can no longer be said to be impossible for natives to compete successfully with Europeans even in England. No special facilities are needed to enable a Bengali gentleman to enter the sacred precincts of the heaven-born Service. The system of fair and equal competition in London, which was introduced thirteen years ago, has not yet been condemned, and the natives have just begun to show themselves equal to it. Any change in the system, therefore, at the present moment seems to us to be as unwise as it is uncalled for.

We cannot do the Secretary of State the injustice of supposing for a moment that this measure was introduced by him merely with the view of courting popularity. In that case, he must already have perceived the utter failure of the scheme, for the Act has received the universal condemnation of all the educated natives in the country. But surely the Duke of Argyll must have perceived the sophism of which he was guilty in the arguments which he employed to confute the merits of Lord Lawrence's suggestion. Lord Lawrence had proposed to send eight native gentlemen annually at the expense of Government

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\* Since writing the above, we regret to say that the news has reached India that two out of the four successful candidates have been rejected, their age having been discovered to exceed the limit fixed by law. As the details of the case are not yet known with certainty, we refrain from comment, more especially as we understand that efforts are being made to obtain a reversal of the sentence.

to compete in England for the Civil Service? But what are *eight* appointments, the Duke asks, compared with 150 millions of native subjects? To read the Duke's speech, one would almost think—we wonder how many noble peers *do* think—that there are at present no native gentlemen whatever in the service of Government, and that some hundreds or thousands of Civilians are sent out annually from England, instead of about forty for all the three Presidencies.

But without all this clap-trap, what is the real state of the case? We think it may be stated somewhat as follows. For the purpose of governing the vast territory which their armies had conquered, the East India Company required a body of Englishmen, who should make their Civil Service the career and profession of their lives. The natives in those days were totally unfit for high office under our system of administration, and the conquest was perhaps too recent to allow of their employment in such posts, however qualified they might have been. Non-official Europeans again were scarcely tolerated, and it would hardly have been politic to entrust the highest offices in the State to raw adventurers unacquainted with the country and its people. The Service therefore was naturally exclusive; it became a profession as much as the practice at the bar or of medicine, requiring a particular training and carrying with it certain privileges and prejudices. And in order to attract Englishmen of talent and ability—to counterbalance the evil influences of climate and other drawbacks incidental to a residence in this country—the emoluments and prospects of the Indian Civil Service were placed upon a liberal scale. These emoluments, and the *prestige* which the Service acquired for itself, soon pointed it out as an object of envy to outsiders, while the occasional abuse of their patronage by the Court of Directors gave colour to the representations of their opponents. Accordingly, in 1856, the appointments in the Civil Service were thrown open to competition, to all persons being natural-born subjects of Her Majesty; and subsequently, in 1861, the exclusiveness of the Civil Service was destroyed by 24 & 25 Vic. cap. 54, by which, under certain restrictions, persons who are not Covenanted Civilians, may, for special reasons, be appointed even to those offices which are nominally reserved to the Service. The Duke of Argyll's Bill which lately passed the House of Lords overrides the test of competition in the case of natives of India, and gives the Governor-General power to appoint them under certain regulations, not to particular high appointments only but to the Covenanted Civil Service.

It is perhaps hardly necessary in this country to point out that the natives already have a very large share in the government of India. In the Uncovenanted Service almost all the appointments are held by natives ; almost all the Civil Courts, and more than half the Criminal Courts, in Bengal at least, are presided over by native judges. Under these circumstances it is ridiculous to say that the natives are not employed largely in the administration. But their employment in the public service must not be confounded with their admission into the Civil Service ; and that is the question with which we are engaged at present.

If the Civil Service had not been thrown open to the natives, it might have been permissible to doubt whether the same advantages might not have been attained by some scheme less open to objection. The admission of natives into the Civil Service has completely ignored the *raison d'être* of that service, and is likely to lead to complications and responsibilities which can only embarrass our future Governors. So far from being an economical arrangement, which is one of the strongest arguments in favor of an extended native agency, the native Civilians must be remunerated at the high rates which are found necessary to attract Englishmen to this country. We ourselves should have preferred to see a certain number of appointments set apart, for which the natives are qualified, and a corresponding reduction made in the Civil Service.

But it is too late to consider this question now ; the fiat of the British Parliament has gone forth, and natives are pressing into the service and taking it by force. Nay more ; a new royal road has now been opened to obviate the difficulties and dangers which beset the regular path. A large native element in the Civil Service must henceforth be regarded as a fact. Indeed, if we are to believe the *Som Prokash*, to debar them from it now would be to create a rebellion !

This conclusion forces us to consider the enormous importance with which these late events have invested the proposal to separate the Civil Service into judicial and executive branches. With a large native element in the service, we conceive that some such separation is indispensable. It is admitted that native gentlemen make excellent judicial officers ; two successive Judges of the High Court have satisfactorily proved that natives may hold the highest judicial appointments in the land with honor to themselves and advantage to their country. But with regard to executive employment, it may be permitted to doubt whether the Bengali gentleman does possess all those qualities

which are requisite to ensure success. The experiment of placing a native magistrate in charge of such a district, say, as Allahabad, seems to us to be fraught with considerable risk. Granted that he be as leal and true to his Sovereign as the staunchest Englishman, has he the presence of mind, the moral courage, or the decision of character which are so pre-eminently called for in some crisis or other of almost every district officer's experience? A district as large as a county in England, with its population of a million of souls, is a responsible charge even for an Englishman, and it is not every English Civilian that is really equal to the responsibility. But unless some change is made in the present system of promotion in the Civil Service, we may expect some ten years hence, to find Bengali gentlemen claiming their right to occupy this difficult position, and it will be impossible then for the Government to ignore their claims. Once admitted into the Civil Service, a native gentleman is liable, under its present constitution, to be called upon to serve in many positions in which it might not only be unfair to himself, but dangerous to the State to employ him. If he is not to take his regular turn of promotion and general duty, the authorities are embarrassed, and unpleasant complications must be the consequence. It is certainly an invidious thing to set aside certain appointments and to say that these shall be open to natives and that certain others shall not; but this seems to us to be the only course to follow in the present state of the case. And even with this restriction, the Government will not find itself so much at liberty to select for particular offices with reference to special qualifications, as if the candidates had been altogether independent of the traditions and rivalries of the Covenanted Civil Service.

In passing on to treat of the great Contempt cases, we feel ourselves placed in a somewhat delicate position. In the first place, the matter has already been discussed *usque ad nauseam*, and the bare mention of Mr. Tayler's name is suggestive of drowsiness and *ennui*; and, further, opinions seem to be so greatly in accord upon the subject, that it is perhaps hardly worth while to discuss it any longer. But considering the sensation it has caused throughout India, and the importance of the interests which were, or were supposed to be, at stake, our review of the past quarter might justly be condemned as imperfect, were we to omit all mention of the subject whatever. The cases may, in fact, be classed within the category of *causes*



*célebres* ; and it is quite possible that they may be found worthy to occupy a place in history.

One of the most remarkable features in the Tayler case was the completeness with which the Court, by a severe, if not arbitrary, use of its power, alienated from itself the sympathies of the public and transferred them to the accused. This was the beginning of sorrows. Up to the time of Mr. Tayler's imprisonment, Sir Barnes Peacock, we believe, carried with him the respect and sympathy of both the European and the Native community. There may have been some question as to the policy, if not the legality, of a summary procedure for contempts like his, which were not committed in the presence of the Court, but that Mr. Tayler had exceeded the bounds of legitimate criticism, all were agreed. That the liberty of the Press was ever endangered by his arrest, indeed, will scarcely be insisted on after Mr. Tayler's own admission that his letters contained charges that were "unwarranted and wholly without foundation." But in respect of the summary procedure exercised by the Court, both in that case and in the subsequent proceedings against the *Englishman*, it may be doubted whether the Court took the most prudent step to vindicate its own dignity and the majesty of the law. This is not the place to discuss forms of procedure, to enquire whether the cases cited by Sir Barnes Peacock are of sufficient authority to serve as precedents for the High Court of Calcutta, or whether the introduction of the Criminal Codes into India was not intended to supersede all former modes of procedure. It may be true that the proceedings adopted by the Court were perfectly legal. With a Chief Justice of such juridical eminence as Sir Barnes Peacock, it is scarcely possible they could be otherwise. But it cannot be denied that the mode of procedure was obsolete, and that it had not been put in force for a whole century previous. And whether legal or not, the discussions in this case have, we think, sufficiently demonstrated the danger and impolicy of so arbitrary a procedure. If the denunciations of the whole Anglo-Indian Press are to count for anything, a repetition of these proceedings is an impossibility.

But the most tantalizing feature in these cases has been their utter barrenness in definite results. Mr. Tayler submitted and apologised, and we had no exposition of the law of Contempt. After three days' able argument, the *Englishman* explained away the meaning of the word "cruel," and the public was again disappointed; the rule was discharged. Matters are thus left pretty much in the same state where they were before ; and

the only point which appears to have been settled is the precise form in which an apology should be worded. It is quite possible for any future Chief Justice who cares to brave such a storm of popular indignation as that which Sir Barnes Peacock has just passed through, to arrest of his own motion a peaceable citizen, and put him on his trial for contempt of Court. The only safeguard which the public have, lies in the unwillingness of most men to court such expressions of popular disapproval.

It will scarcely be thought that Sir Barnes Peacock added to the dignity of the Court over which he presides by the explanation which followed the discharge of the rule against the *Englishman*. It is always an unfortunate circumstance when a Court's proceedings require explanation, and Sir Barnes's explanation was an admission that his proceedings were either not understood or not approved by the public. The tables had, in fact, been turned, from the *Englishman* and Mr. Tayler, upon Sir Barnes Peacock; the question was no longer whether a contempt had been committed, but whether Sir Barnes's proceedings were legal, justifiable and constitutional. And this was the point on which Sir Barnes condescended to offer an explanation. But that explanation is deprived of its chief value as a declaration of the law for future guidance, by the fact that the points therein laid down had not been previously argued by counsel. The force of some of the reasons and arguments employed has already been impugned by the *Pioneer*, and we must therefore repeat our regret that, as an exposition of the law of Contempt, the whole proceedings have been barren of any definite result.

And now let us hope that the case will be allowed to drop into oblivion. Sir Barnes Peacock's services to the Anglo-Indian public during a long and eventful career have not been such that his proceedings in this matter can be allowed to outweigh the debt of gratitude which every Englishman in India owes him. When Sir Barnes's biography comes to be written, there will be much to set against his treatment of Mr. Tayler and the rule against the *Englishman*.

The revelations brought to light in the Doveton College scandal are not only to be regretted on account of the injury which they cannot help causing that institution, but as exhibiting the low tone of morality and the defective system of moral training prevailing in one of our first Anglo-Indian schools. It is unnecessary for us to add our voice to the general condemnation of a system which could allow of boys being kept in the Doveton College after the exposure of offences which, even in the Madrassa, are punished

with immediate expulsion. This laxity of discipline, for which both masters and committee are responsible, has fostered a disease which, it is to be feared, has spread throughout the school with its corrupting influences. If the boys who lately appeared as witnesses in the High Court are to be regarded as average specimens of the "Doveton Heroes," it is perhaps desirable that their numbers should be limited. But still we cannot regard them as insignificant, nor is it sufficient to avoid them, as we should avoid vipers, toads and other noxious reptiles. The poisonous *virus* will work, even in the limited sphere of action of a "Doveton Hero," and therefore such disclosures suggest unpleasant fears for the morality of the next generation of East Indians, and show the grave responsibility of those to whose charge boys are entrusted in the Parental Academy. The *Englishman* truly says, that the case is "an eloquent yet melancholy comment on the desire felt by Anglo-Indian parents to educate their children at home;" but unfortunately the number of those who are compelled, from straightened means, to have recourse to schools in this country, forms an overwhelming majority. The importance, therefore, of Bishop Cotton's Hill Schools, in which it may be trusted the boys breathe a purer moral, as well as a purer physical atmosphere, is greatly enhanced by such revelations as those attending the Doveton College. If the Secretary of State will but sanction that Railway to Darjeeling, there are hundreds of parents in Calcutta who will owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the amelioration that will thereby be effected in the conditions of English education in India.

The schism in the Lutheran Mission at Ranchi has excited an amount of interest and attention which ecclesiastical matters seldom command in this country. There has been indeed in India a singular unanimity of opinion. The junior missionaries and their champion, Pastor Ansorge, have not, as far as we know, found a single independent advocate. Whatever controversy there has been, has turned, not upon the merits of the original dispute, but upon the part which the Bishop of Calcutta took in the solution of the difficulty. The opinion has been expressed in some quarters that the Bishop acted with undue precipitation, but the *Friend of India*, which is the chief exponent of this view, has uniformly assumed an unfriendly attitude towards Bishop Milman, and the fact that the ejected missionaries preferred the communion of the Church of England to that of the Free Kirk, it has been hinted, is of itself sufficient to account for the qualified patronage with which the *Friend* has favored them.

It may be fairly said that we are now in possession of all the materials for forming a judgment upon the merits of the case. The last few mails have brought us the remonstrances of the Berlin Committee, and we recognise in their tone a sense of wrong as keen as that which has been aroused among the friends of Mr. Batsch and his colleagues. A long communication appeared in the *Friend of India*, of June 17th, from a gentleman who is described as holding a high ecclesiastical position in Berlin; and a Mr. Carlyle, of the Free Kirk of Scotland, who resides in that city, has also sent to the *Times* a plea that the Berlin authorities may be heard. From first to last the Berlin Committee has been most unfortunate in its representatives. Of Pastor Ansonge we need only say, that people were simply puzzled at finding that so exceptionally arbitrary and wrong-headed a man should have been commissioned to arrange a matter in which more than ordinary tact and judgment were indispensable. The correspondent of the *Friend of India*, to whom we have referred, though he gives us some insight into the line of argument adopted in Berlin, becomes at times, either from ignorance of English or some other reason, simply unintelligible. What can be made of such a sentence as the following:—"He [the Bishop] hopes perhaps that the predominant Governmental power of England in India may gain an easy victory over an isolated mission work of the Germans. Besides, the Bishop, Dr. Milman, is the most articulate (*sic*) man belonging to the Puseyite and High Church Ritualists, and his whole conduct seems to have a one-sided confessional direction."

Looking, then, to the facts of the case as stated from Ranchi and from Berlin, we cordially sympathise with the original intention of the Home Committee to develop the educational resources of the mission and to approach the Kôls in their own vernacular. Nor are we prepared entirely to absolve Mr. Batsch and his colleagues from having failed to co-operate heartily with the Committee in this object. Yet, after five-and-twenty years of labor, men naturally become conservative to a fault as to their own method, and especially when that method has resulted in an unparalleled success. Mr. Batsch and his friends had borne the burden and heat of the day. They had waited in prayer and in patience through years in which their efforts were singularly fruitless, but from the time the tide turned in 1850, their success has been more and more marked. To us it seems that something was due even to the prejudices of such men. Those prejudices might be deplored, but they should have been gently dealt with.

The Bishop of Calcutta has been blamed for acting with undue haste : it seems to us that this charge lies more fairly at the door of the Home Committee. They were bound to weigh and to foresee the inevitable consequences of such an uncompromising policy as they adopted ; and it was not difficult for them to discover either the sympathy of the English residents for these men, evinced as it was by a generous and systematic liberality to the Mission, or the attachment of the Kôl Christians to their spiritual fathers. To present such an *ultimatum* as Pastor Ansonge attempted to enforce, was a direct provocation to secession. It really left the older missionaries no other alternative. For, under the new constitution to which they were required to submit, Mr. Batsch, while nominally retaining his position as head of the Mission, would have been so only in semblance, as he was associated with two of the younger missionaries, who had been his pronounced opponents throughout these differences, and would, on all occasions, have been out-voted by them. Mr. Herzog, to whose management of the temporalities of the Mission Messrs. Schröder and Atkinson bore the highest testimony, was deprived of all share in its management. It was, moreover, no trifling inconsistency that after Herr Ansonge had refused to absolve Messrs. Batsch and Herzog from the charges of misappropriating the funds of the Mission, he should have been ready to place the former in the position even of its nominal head. It is right to observe that the administration of the Mission property by the three older Missionaries was amply vindicated in the report of Messrs. Schröder and Atkinson, to which reference has been just made.

It seems to us, therefore, that the responsibility of the rupture rests with the home authorities and their headstrong representative, whose proceedings they have sanctioned and made their own, and that the senior missionaries were virtually ejected. As to the Bishop's consequent action, in spite of all that has been written on this part of the history, we do not think that the difficulties by which the Bishop was beset have been clearly apprehended. The demand made upon him was not simply a question of the reception of the seceders and their flock into the Church of England. There was a pressing need for material support—the means of subsistence for these men. The English residents in Chôta Nagpore were subscribing largely, but they could not bear the entire burden. The Bishop was therefore, compelled to appeal to the two great Missionary Societies of the Church. He first applied to the Church Missionary

Society, but found them indisposed to undertake the Mission. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel subsequently engaged to supply four hundred rupees a month. But neither of these societies, by their constitution, could have guaranteed support to any body of missionaries not in communion with the Church of England. The ordination of the Lutheran Pastors, therefore, followed as a necessity upon their receiving maintenance from either of the Church Societies.

It has been urged that the Bishop should not have taken this decisive step without communicating with the Berlin Committee. Not only did the residents at Ranchi and the Kôls earnestly press him for a decision, but he knew that a singularly temperate remonstrance from the local supporters of the Mission had been treated with contumely, and that no answer had been vouchsafed. He can scarcely be blamed for refusing to expose himself to a like indignity. If any one had a claim to be heard in the interests of peace, it was those who know the circumstances of the Mission, and had shown an active interest in it for years. When they had failed not only to gain a hearing but to obtain even common courtesy, we cannot think that the mediation of the Bishop would have been more successful.

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## LITERATURE.

*Bibliotheca Indica : a collection of Oriental Works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

1. *The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl-i-Mabarik-i-Allami, edited by H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta Madrasah.*
2. *The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl-i-Allami, translated from the original Persian, by H. Blochmann, M.A., Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.*

WE cannot allow another number of the *Review* to issue without noticing a most useful and remarkable work which is now being published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl-i-Allami, is at once the most important and the most difficult work in the whole range of Persian literature. For historical purposes, and as affording an insight into Mahomedan rule in India under the most distinguished of the Mogul Emperors, the value of the *Ain* can scarcely be overrated. It was with no small

satisfaction, therefore, that we heard, some two years ago, that the Government had sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 5,000 for the publication of the Persian text. The work was undertaken by the Asiatic Society, and the task of editing it was entrusted to Professor H. Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, probably the first Persian scholar we have in India at the present day. Mr. Blochmann has just published the eighth Fasciculus of the text, having thus completed about one-half of the entire work. The edition is based upon a "very old and excellent" manuscript belonging to Colonel Hamilton, and is enriched for Oriental scholars by *lectiones variantes* from nine other manuscripts which are thus described by the editor :—

A MS. belonging to Faqir Sayyid Qamaruddin of Lahore.

A large parchment manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, closely agreeing with the preceding.

A MS. belonging to His Highness Nawáb Sziya-ud-din of Lubáru (Delhi).

The Delhi lithographed edition of the *Ain*, by Sayyid Ahmad. The greater part of the 3rd book of the *Ain* is wanting in this edition.

A MS. belonging to Hafiz Ahmad Husain of Saharunpore. It contains numerous errors.

A MS. belonging to the Fort William College. It contains only parts of the *Ain*.\*

Three MSS. belonging to the Asiatic Society. Being incomplete and most incorrect, they have been but rarely quoted in the notes, though their readings have been collated in all difficult passages.

The *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society is a noble repertory of Oriental classics, but Mr. Blochmann's text of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is the first critical edition, we believe, of any Persian or Arabic work which has yet been published by the Society. This fact alone speaks well for the progress of Oriental scholarship in this country; and we trust that the present edition of the *Ain* will inaugurate a more critical era generally in the history of the Society's publications. If the Asiatic Society is unable to place confidence in the industry and erudition of those whom it selects to edit the *Bibliotheca Indica*, it would perhaps be as well that it should pretend to do no more than give the crude text; but if the task is entrusted to really competent men, we do not see why

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\* This was the manuscript used by Gladwin for his translation.

Oriental works should not be as fully and critically edited as any of the Western classics. India surely offers a wide field for the collection and collation of both private and public manuscripts, and there are other advantages which it is difficult, if not impossible, to secure in Europe. The printing of the mere text, without critical notes, preface or index, is no doubt a valuable contribution to Oriental literature; but it is scarcely the contribution we should expect from the antecedents of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mr. Blochmann does not rest satisfied with editing the mere Persian text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*; he is also engaged in publishing a full and literal English translation. The only English edition that we possess at present is that published originally by Gladwin in 1786. Gladwin's translation is both imperfect and incomplete; it is rather an abstract or *resumé* of the *Ain* than a translation, while part of the second and third books, and the whole of the fifth, comprising the sayings of Akbar, are entirely omitted. As a sample of the importance of some of these omitted portions, it will be sufficient to refer to the long list of poets, philosophers, and other notables of Akbar's Court, which Gladwin mistook for a poem by Faizi "of about 600 couplets." The *Ain-i-Akbari*, as we said above, is one of the most difficult Persian books that has ever been written. It is stated by a contemporary writer that Abul Fazl endeavoured to imitate the antiquated style of the earliest Persian writers after Mahomed,—a style which is characterized as not only harsh and unpleasing to the ear, but as being almost unintelligible to the generality of readers. Gladwin himself says:—"The author in this part of his work \* is uncommonly obscure, from having adopted a style that was almost obsolete two centuries ago." Such being the case, it is important, above all things, that a translation of the *Ain* should be literal; this condition ignored, we have no guarantee for the accuracy of the work. Gladwin's translation unfortunately is not a literal one, and in many passages it is extremely inaccurate. We select the following passage, which may be taken as a fair specimen of the superiority of Mr. Blochmann's translation over Gladwin's. It is taken from Chapter 77:—

GLADWIN.

"The most striking proof of his  
"miraculous powers is the follow-  
"ing:—A talkative ignorant re-

BLOCHMANN.

"A more remarkable case is the  
"following:—A simple-minded re-  
"cluse had cut off his tongue, and

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\* The *Ain* is only the third volume of Abul Fazl's *Akbar-namah*.



“cluse said, ‘If there be any latent good in me, it behoveth you to bring it to perfection;’ and having so said, he fell down in a trance at the threshold of the palace. The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.”

Vol. I, p. 165.  
(Edition of 1800.)

“throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said:—‘If that certain blissful thought which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well: for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue.’ The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.”

Vol. I, p. 165.

In the above anecdote Gladwin's translation is not only unintelligible, but it discloses no miracle at all, and Elphinstone may therefore be excused for denying that Akbar ever advanced pretensions to miraculous power. Abul Fazl does not indeed explain how the recluse contrived to express himself after he had cut out his tongue, but probably he would tell us that that was only a part of the miracle. However that may be, it does not require any very abstruse knowledge of Persian to see that Mr. Blochmann's translation is the more accurate. And as a foreigner, we trust Mr. Blochmann will allow us to congratulate him on the ease and elegance which characterize his translation throughout. In translating a difficult word like the *Ain*, it is not always possible to write gracefully even in the mother-tongue, but the author of the translation before us has succeeded in rendering the periods of Abul Fazl with remarkable elegance in a language which is not his own.

It is scarcely possible at this stage of the work to estimate the full historical value of the information which Mr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ain* promises to open up to us. But already his labors have served to exhibit the religious character of Akbar in a new light. Hitherto we have been content to regard that great man as the most tolerant of all the followers of Mahomed; somewhat unorthodox and free-thinking perhaps, but still a Mahomedan. A victorious autocrat, a follower of the most bigoted faith on the face of the earth—a faith which takes for its watchword, “The Koran or the sword”—we have admired the Musalman emperor who allowed religious freedom and equality to Mahomedan, Hindu, Parsee and Christian, alike. Akbar the Great has been represented not only as one of the noblest characters that the world has ever produced, but as a ruler far in advance of the principles and times in which he lived. But Mr. Blochmann tells a different tale. He pictures Akbar to us as in turns the renegade from Islam, the eclectic philosopher, the Hinduized

Parsee, the author and object of a new Divine Faith. Akbar, it seems, began by renouncing the creed of his fathers, and ended by establishing a new creed of his own. He disbelieved in the prophet, and he endeavoured to make the rest of the world believe in himself. This, we believe, is a new view of Akbar's character. It is quite true that Akbar practised religious toleration, but it was only after he had renounced the Islam. It is quite true that at one period of his career he was, as Elphinstone says, a pure deist; but this is not the whole statement of the case. Akbar did not stop at Deism. It would seem that he was so worked upon by his own immoderate vanity and by the flattery of his courtiers, that, according to Mr. Blochmann, he ultimately believed that he was God. That he encouraged this belief in others, that he was quite willing, and indeed anxious, to be the object of worship and adoration, cannot be doubted: Elphinstone, indeed, denies that Akbar ever entertained the least intention of laying claim to supernatural illumination, but Elphinstone makes too little allowance, we think, for the change which took place in Akbar's religious views from time to time with the growth of the new faith. Even Gladwin, who is probably a better authority, seems to have been compelled to admit a claim of this nature on Akbar's part. "Nor should it be considered as a weak part of his character," writes Gladwin in his preface, "that he wished to be regarded as one who was under the influence of Divine inspiration, since it is not unreasonable to suppose that his motives for endeavouring to inculcate this notion were purely political." Partly, no doubt; but political motives will scarcely afford a sufficient explanation. Akbar may possibly have seen the policy of religious toleration: he may even have calculated the advantages which would result to the Empire if he could succeed in cementing together its discordant elements by the bond of a new faith. But to have purposely based that new faith on his own individual pretensions to Divinity would obviously have been as short-sighted a policy as it was in the end disastrous. Rather would we believe that Akbar was led on step by step by his own innate vanity, by his sense of power, and by the adulation of those around him, until, like the Roman Augustus, he ended by claiming Divine honors. In the earlier years of his career, Akbar denied the possibility of inspiration; at its close he claimed it for himself. When he founded his new religion, it was as the exponent of an eclectic philosophy; while abjuring Islam, he engrafted on his faith the

doctrines and practices of other religions ; there was some good, as he said, in all ; and accordingly, we find him accepting the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of souls, respecting cows as sacred, and taking part in the celebration of the *homa* sacrifice, worshipping the sun and fire with the Parsees, and having his son Morād instructed by Roman Catholic Missionaries. His philosophy made him an idolator, and as an idolator, he himself required as much protection and toleration as the meanest of his own subjects. Hence he was eminently tolerant and liberal. But a change in his character seems to have dated from the day when he was persuaded to assume the office of *Mujtahid*. From that day Akbar was the highest authority in the interpretation of the law, which with Mahomedans is synonymous with religion. He became Head at once of Church and State, without even inspiration as a guide, and from this position the transition was easy and natural to that of God's representative on earth. A new State religion was now established, in which " God's representative " was undoubtedly set forth as an object of worship. The " Divine Faith " was the natural outcome of a long course of infidelity, free-thinking, vanity and adulation. There is no evidence of one pre-conceived design running throughout. On the contrary, Akbar, like Mahomed, seems to have been urged on by the force of circumstances, and the action of those about him, to take up a position at the close of his career, which, at its commencement, he had never contemplated. Nay, the emperor who began by proclaiming religious equality and universal toleration, was subsequently induced to persecute the 'Ulamās, and to plunder and expel those Sunni families who refused to acknowledge the Divine Faith.

For a fuller exposition of Mr. Blochmann's views on this subject, we must refer the reader to a long note at page 167 of his translation, and to the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Possibly, Mr. Blochmann goes further than his authorities will warrant, when he states that Akbar ultimately believed himself to be God. That he was desirous of inspiring such a belief in others, will, we think, admit of no doubt. But Abul Fazl tells us that, while pretending to possess miraculous powers, Akbar would secretly smile at the credulity of the people who believed in him. He was a worshipper of the sun up to the very last.

The life of Akbar will have to be re-written in the light of these new discoveries ; there can be little doubt that his character has hitherto been greatly misunderstood. Meanwhile, we would

submit that Mr. Blochmann's labors afford an example of the important results which may fairly be expected from wider researches into the native sources of Mahomedan history. We strongly recommend the Asiatic Society to have all its histories translated.

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*Finance and Revenue Accounts; and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the finances of British India.\* Part I. Calcutta; 1869.*

*Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign countries, and of the Coasting Trade between the several Presidencies in the year ended 30th April 1867, together with miscellaneous statistics relating to the Foreign Trade of British India from various periods to 1866-67. Published by order of the Governor-General in Council. 1869.*

THE present year has seen the publication of two most valuable contributions to our statistical knowledge of India—the one relating to Indian finance, and the other to our foreign and coasting trade. Both volumes are the first of a proposed annual edition of statistics on the subject, and for this reason they deserve more than a passing notice at our hands. They afford ample promise that the charges which have been so often brought against the Government of India of its shortcomings in respect of the statistics of this empire, will before long have no foundation whatever in fact. The Indian Government has most valuable statistical information at its command, and it is now evincing a desire to make it more generally available to the public.

The Finance and Revenue accounts now published give the simple details of the finances of India from 1861-62, that being the first year in which the Budget system came into operation. A second part is promised shortly, giving "tables illustrative of various aspects in which the finances may be regarded as a whole or in relation to the divisions of the empire," and this part "will contain a statistical record of the financial progress of British India from 1792-93." Recognizing as we do the value and importance of what has already been accomplished, we look forward with some impatience to the publication of the second part.

Those who will take the trouble to look into the other volume of statistics, which has been published regarding the foreign and coasting trade of British India for the year ended 30th April 1867, will find abundant evidence, if such be wanting, of the growing importance and prosperity of this country. Perhaps the most interesting tables in the volume are those which exhibit the steady increase of our foreign trade from 1834-35 to 1866-67. In that period of thirty-two years, the trade of India has increased seven-fold; its most remarkable expansion having taken place during the last decade, within which it has more than doubled itself. The foreign trade of British India is now worth more than one hundred millions sterling per annum. This trade gives employment to upwards of twelve thousand vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of more than four millions.

The statistics regarding the coasting trade are not so complete or valuable as they might be, from the circumstance that the returns relate to the trade between the several Presidencies only, and not to the trade between different ports. It is an inter-portal trade alone which can give a true idea of the coasting trade of any country, though, for administrative purposes, it may also be desirable to calculate it as between the several Provinces of the empire. But partial and incomplete as the returns of an inter-provincial coasting trade must necessarily be, they show that it is worth some twenty-two millions sterling, and that some twenty-five thousand craft, with an aggregate tonnage of over three millions, entered and cleared during the year.

The credit of publishing these two volumes is due to the Financial Department. It was in Mr. Massey's time, we believe, that a statistical branch of the Financial Office was first organized, although the Statistical Committee had been called into existence some time previously. In these trade and navigation returns, prepared, so far as it was possible, upon the model of those issued by the Board of Trade in England, we see some of the most satisfactory work that the Committee has turned out. It is notorious that the gentlemen now at the head of the Financial Department are eminently gifted with the power of perceiving and valuing the uses and importance of statistics; and it is doubtless to this circumstance, in some measure, that we owe the present activity of the Department in this direction. There can be no doubt that statistics are destined to play a much more important part in the history of our government in

India than they have yet done, and every contribution to our knowledge of them is particularly valuable at the present time.

*The Malay Archipelago: the Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with studies of Man and Nature.* By Alfred Russel Wallace. Two vols. London; Macmillan & Co. 1869.

MR. Wallace's "Malay Archipelago" is one of those books to which it is impossible to do justice in a brief notice. The subjects of which he treats are so various and of so peculiar an interest in this country, that we can only hope that it may be in our power to present our readers in the next number with a more worthy review of his labours than can possibly appear in this. Mr. Wallace is one of the most eminent naturalists of the day, and is chiefly distinguished for his connection with what is known as the Darwinian theory. His present work gives the account of his wanderings among the numerous islands of the Malay Archipelago; and we may safely affirm that a more interesting book of travel has not reached us since the appearance of Palgrave's *Arabia*, and the publication of Sir Samuel Baker's *Explorations of the Nile*. In the eight years during which Mr. Wallace was absent from England, he estimates that he travelled about 14,000 miles, visiting besides the larger islands of Borneo, Java and Sumatra, the Timor group, Celebes, the Moluccas, the Ké, and Aru islands, and even the inhospitable shores of New Guinea. Within that period he collected upwards of 125,000 specimens of natural history, his attention being mainly devoted to insects and birds; and the six years' delay which has taken place in the publication of the record of his travels is to be attributed to the labor of identifying and classifying these copious collections, and of working out the difficult problems of variation and geographical distribution, of which they afford the evidence. Mr. Wallace was not a mere pleasure-hunting traveller with no more serious object in view than the search for adventure or excitement; he claims to have his book judged as the production of an earnest, enquiring and scientific mind.

Mr. Wallace divides the archipelago into five groups of islands, *viz.*, the Indo-Malay islands, the Timor group, Celebes, the

Moluccas, and the Papuan group. This arrangement is at once, in a manner, geographical, geological and ethnological, and it saves the reader the monotony of traversing the same regions several times. Of these five groups the Indo-Malay islands all lie within comparatively shallow water ; and it is probable that they were once connected with the Malay peninsula. On the other hand, the Papuan group, comprising New Guinea, the Aru Islands, and some others, were probably at one time connected with Australia. The other groups are situated in the deep sea. But with respect to the physical geography of these islands, Mr. Wallace presents us with some interesting scientific conclusions, based mainly on the distribution of animal and vegetable life. Indeed, one of the most remarkable inferences which he draws is that "the whole of the islands eastwards beyond Java and Borneo "do essentially form a part of a former Australian or Pacific "Continent, though some of them may never have been actually "joined to it,"—and that a strait of only fifteen miles in width separated this great continent from another great division of the earth differing as essentially in its animal life, as Europe does from America. He says :—

"Turning our attention now to the remaining portion of the Archipelago, we shall find that all the islands from Celebes and Lombok eastward exhibit almost as close a resemblance to Australia and New Guinea as the Western Islands do to Asia. It is well known that the natural productions of Australia differ from those of Asia more than those of any of the four ancient quarters of the world differ from each other. Australia, in fact, stands alone ; it possesses no apes or monkeys, no cats or tigers, wolves, bears, or hyenas ; no deer or antelopes, sheep or oxen ; no elephant, horse, squirrel or rabbit ; none, in short, of those familiar types of quadruped which are met with in every other part of the world. Instead of these, it has marsupials only, kangaroos, and opossums, wombats, and the duck-billed platypus. In birds it is almost as peculiar. It has no wood-peckers and no pheasants, families which exist in every other part of the world ; but instead of them it has the mound-making brush-turkeys, the honey-suckers, the cockatoos, and the brush-tongued lorries, which are found nowhere else upon the globe. All these striking peculiarities are found also in those islands which form the Austro-Malayan division of the Archipelago.

"The great contrast between the two divisions of the Archipelago is nowhere so abruptly exhibited as on passing

from the island of Bali to that of Lombeck, where the two regions are in closest proximity. In Bali, we have barbets, fruit-thrushes and wood-peckers. On passing over to Lombeck these are seen no more, but we have abundance of cockatoos, honey-suckers and brush-turkeys, which are equally unknown in Bali or any island further West. The strait is here fifteen miles wide, so that we may pass in two hours from one great division of the earth to another, differing as essentially in their animal life as Europe does from America. If we travel from Java or Borneo to Celebes or the Moluccas, the difference is still more striking. In the first, the forests abound in monkeys of many kinds, wild cats, deer, civets and others, and numerous varieties of squirrels are constantly met with. In the latter, none of these occur; but the prehensile-tailed cuscus is almost the only terrestrial mammal seen, except wild pigs, which are found in all the islands, and deer (which have probably been recently introduced) in Celebes and the Moluccas. The birds which are most abundant in the Western Islands are woodpeckers, barbets, trogons, fruit-thrushes and leaf-thrushes. They are seen daily, and form the great ornithological feature of the country. In the Eastern Islands these are absolutely unknown, honey-suckers and lorises being the most common birds, so that the naturalist feels himself in a new world, and can hardly realize that he has passed from the one region to the other in a few days, without ever being out of sight of land."

Such being the case with regard to the zoological kingdom, it was only to be expected that two distinct races of human beings should be found to inhabit the Archipelago. And accordingly Mr. Wallace's observations and researches—continued, as he repeats, for eight years—convinced him that there are two forms or types—the Malay and the Papuan—under which the whole of the peoples in this Archipelago may be classified. The line of demarcation is somewhat more eastward than the zoological line above referred to; but this is naturally enough explained in the following way:—"Man has means of traversing the sea which animals do not possess; and a superior race has power to press out or assimilate an inferior one. The maritime enterprise and higher civilisation of the Malay have enabled them to over-run a portion of the adjacent region, in which they have entirely supplanted the indigenous inhabitants, if it ever possessed any, and to spread much of their language, their domestic animals and their customs



far over the Pacific, into islands where they have but slightly, or not at all, modified the physical or moral characteristics of the people."

One of the most fascinating charms about Mr. Wallace's book, is the spirit of cheerfulness and good temper in which it is written. We in India can perhaps appreciate some of the difficulties and inconveniences attendant upon foreign travel, but even we can have but an imperfect conception what it is to sail or mid ocean in a native prau or to live for months together among barbarous savages without the sight of a European, not to say an English, face. But whatever seemed to be against him, Mr. Wallace seems to have maintained his equanimity and to have been thoroughly content. He has to cross a hundred miles of open sea in a little boat of four tons burthen, without an ounce of iron or a foot of rope in any part of its construction, with a mat sail and a rattan cable; and he tells us that the voyage was made "in comparative comfort." If he speaks of the centipedes, spiders, and scorpions, among whom his lot was cast, it is not to exaggerate the horror of the circumstance; but in order to add that "all combined are not so bad as the irritation of mosquitoes or of the insect pests often found at home."

"It sometimes amuses me," Mr. Wallace writes, "to observe how, a few days after I have taken possession of it, a native hut seems quite a comfortable home. My house at Waypoti was a bare shed with a large bamboo platform at one side. At one end of this platform, which was elevated about three feet, I fixed up my mosquito curtain, and partly enclosed it with a large Scotch plaid, making a comfortable little sleeping apartment. I put up a rude table on legs buried in the earthen floor, and had my comfortable rattan chair for a seat. A line across one corner carried my daily-washed cotton clothing, and on a bamboo shelf was arranged my small stock of crockery and hardware. Boxes were ranged against the thatch-walls and hanging shelves, to preserve my collections from ants while drying, were suspended both without and within the house. On my table lay forks, penknives, scissors, pliers, and pins, with insect and bird labels, all of which were unsolved mysteries to the native mind." Of course Mr. Wallace was set down as a conjuror by these simple people; his pursuits were far beyond their comprehension, and they could only arrive at the conclusion that he carried away his collections to bring the animals to life again in his own country, wherever that might be.

Mr. Wallace is perhaps least interesting when he is disposed to moralise, but he is not the first man of whom this remark has been made without disparagement. Mr. Wallace is a believer in the system of colonisation—the paternal despotism—pursued by the Dutch, with whom he was naturally brought much into contact. He describes the happy and contented life of many of the savage tribes, and he expresses doubts as to the influence of a higher civilisation upon them. In fact, he seems to think that there are wild communities in the Malay Archipelago who realise the perfection of social existence far more fully than can possibly be attained in a more highly civilised society.

It is somewhat remarkable that, considering the close connection which undoubtedly existed between India and the Malay Archipelago in former times, and the facilities which offer for such intercourse in the present, so little should be known in this country of that portion of the world. Its history is a perfect blank to us; with the exception of a few spices, its productions are equally unknown; its fauna and flora are almost entirely unrepresented in our museums. And yet the Hindu religion once extended over a large portion of this Archipelago, and is maintained even at the present day in Bali and Lombok. The Brahminical ruins in the island of Java, as represented by Sir Stamford Raffles, are some of the finest architectural curiosities in the world, and may yet do much to throw light upon the dark passages of early Indian history. To naturalists, philologists and historians alike, to all in fact who are interested in the cause of science, Mr. Wallace's book cannot fail to impart new desires and aspirations; it cannot be that the *savans* of this country, with such splendid opportunities, will not do something to increase our knowledge of this wonderful and enchanting region of the globe. It cannot be that the Indian Museum will be allowed to remain much longer conspicuous for its utter poverty in the productions of the Malay Archipelago.

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*Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes. Paris, 1869.*  
Gauthier-Villars: Paris.

THE new number of this valuable little publication is now before us. As usual, the information is admirably arranged, but this year presents no special novelties. The

scientific notices comprise a lengthy paper upon *The Constitution of the Universe*, from the pen of M. Delaunay, of the French Institute—and a *Report upon the spectrum-analysis of the Solar protuberances made at Gunttoor, Madras Presidency, during the total Eclipse of 18th August 1868*, by the French astronomer, M. Janssen.

After expressing his acknowledgments of the courtesy he experienced at the hands of Lord Napier and the Madras authorities, M. Janssen enters into details of the observations he made during the continuance of the Eclipse, which, amongst other considerations, led him to infer the possibility of observing the “red flames” or “prominences,” so long a subject of speculation to astronomers, without the intervention of an Eclipse. M. Janssen appears *not* to be aware that this idea was mooted two years ago in a communication addressed by Mr. Norman Lockyer, in 1866, to the Royal Society of London, although delay in the preparation of suitable instruments has prevented any immediate results accruing therefrom.

The sky becoming overcast soon after the termination of the Eclipse, any further observations that day became impracticable. But operations were resumed, as favorable opportunities occurred, on the succeeding days in furtherance of the idea, and with the happiest results. An interesting example in point is described by M. Janssen as having been observed on the 4th of September.

An examination of the sun at 9h. 50m. showed a protuberant mass upon the inferior portion of the disc. The method adopted to determine its configuration he designates the “chronometric,” inasmuch as in it, time serves as the metric element. The spectroscope was carefully adjusted, so that the diurnal movement might bring every portion of the region to be examined in succession in front of the aperture. The telescope was fitted with transverse local wires, the distance between which represented a certain determinate number of minutes of the arc. The lengths and positions of the protuberant lines as they successively appeared in the spectroscope were then noted at fixed intervals. Data were thus obtained for the formation of a projection of the protuberance. On the occasion in question these observations showed the existence of a “protuberance” extending over  $30^{\circ}$ ,— $10^{\circ}$  to the east of the vertical diameter, and  $20^{\circ}$  to the west. At the western extremity was a large cloud at an elevation of about one and a half minute above the photosphere. This cloud which was over two

minutes in length and one minute in breadth, was parallel to the sun's limb. An hour afterwards a new tracing showed that the cloud had risen rapidly, assuming a globular form.

These changes became eventually much more rapid. Ten minutes later, at 11h., the cloud had become enormously elongated in a direction at right angles to its first position. A small portion detached from the mass hung suspended between the sun and the cloud. The state of the weather prevented the continuance of the observations.

The conclusions to be deduced from these investigations, M. Janssen considers, are :—

“*Firstly*.—That the luminous protuberances observable during total eclipses of the sun belong incontestably to the circumsolar regions.

“*Secondly*.—That these bodies consist of hydrogen in a state of incandescence, this gas predominating in their composition, if it does not form their exclusive constituent.

“*Thirdly*.—That these circumsolar bodies are the scene of changes, of the magnitude of which no terrestrial phenomena can furnish any adequate conception—masses of matter exceeding in volume by many hundred times the bulk of the earth, altering their forms and positions in the course of a few minutes.”

These deductions, have been confirmed by the results of a series of observations carried out independently in England by Mr. Norman Lockyer in October last, which, to use his own words, “*have established the fact that these ‘prominences’ are mere local heapings up of a hydrogen envelope surrounding the photosphere.*”

M. Janssen adds that, notwithstanding the state of his sight which has become enfeebled by protracted study of these phenomena, he hopes to be enabled to continue his observations. We are glad to learn from the Paris papers of 2nd February, that the Minister of Public Instruction has sanctioned this arrangement, and has notified that the necessary funds will be provided by the French Government.

At the conclusion of his report, M. Janssen remarks that he has continued his researches into the spectrum of *aqueous vapour*, the extreme humidity of the Indian climate at the time of his visit being peculiarly favorable thereto. He is disposed to assign every day a higher importance to this vapour which he believes to exercise a remarkable electric action upon every portion of the solar ray. These observations are to form the subject of a separate paper.

*A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India.* By Thomas A. C. Firminger, M.A., Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, &c. Second Edition. Calcutta: Barham, Hill & Co. 1869.

A second edition of Mr. Firminger's well-known *Manual of Gardening* has long been called for, and even the despair into which gardeners in the vicinity of Calcutta have been thrown by the late Cyclones has not had much effect, we understand, in arresting the rapidity of its sale. "Firminger" has, in fact, become a necessary *Vade-Mecum* to every resident in Bengal, who does not prefer a tangled wilderness to a smiling garden. Every one in India has a compound, larger or smaller, and Mr. Firminger has done more than any one else in transforming those usually barren enclosures into gay parterres and fruitful adjuncts to the kitchen. If the work has not been so popular with the Native as with the European community, we must set it down to a want of appreciation of the beauties of art. But a taste for gardening is one of those refinements which we may shortly expect to see extending throughout the country, and "Firminger" will then become as cherished a "household word" in the native *bari* as it now is in the neighbouring *saheb's* villa.

The main points in which this edition differs from the former are the correction of some few errors, and certain important additions, especially in regard to fruit culture. Many of the plants described in the first edition have since been destroyed by the great Cyclones of 1864 and 1867. But Mr. Firminger has let his description stand—a melancholy record of some of the trials which beset the gardener in India. We recommend all who do not already possess a copy of this work to lose no time in adding it to their Indian library.

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*The Travels of a Hindoo to various parts of Bengal and Upper India.* By Bholanauth Chunder, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; with an Introduction by J. Talboys Wheeler, Esq. London; N. Trübner and Co. 1869.

THE "Travels of a Hindoo" is a book which it is very difficult to appreciate rightly. On the one hand, as the *Spectator* says, we are too apt to over-praise natives who can put together half a page of decent English, and, making allowances for the difficulty of writing in a foreign idiom, to accord to a Hindu who avoids the ordinary pitfalls into which educated Scotchmen and Irishmen fall, a reverence far above his merits. On the

other hand, we are perhaps too prone to deride the form in which the Anglicised Hindu casts his thoughts, and to overlook the intrinsic worth of the substance. It is very disgusting to have to read such a passage as the following :—"No rattling of carriages to disturb the continuity of auricular repose, and no stench to offend the olfactory nerve." Such specimens of "decorated English" occur, we regret to say, in the two volumes before us, but it is not of these that we wish to speak at present. At the present time, when the educated Bengali is becoming the question of the day, when he is forcing his way into the ranks of the Covenanted Civil Service, it is most important for us to consider what are his hopes and aspirations ; whether he is a Hindu or an Englishman at heart ; whether his ideal is fixed in the past or the future.

The present author leaves us in no doubt on this head. With him the English rule is the empire of light—the native that of darkness. He is never weary of comparing the peaceful state of India at present with the disorder and disturbance of Mahomedan times. "The mutiny was a fatal error ; it once more plunged the country into the abyss of past ages. It jeopardized the vital interests of India." The exit of the English would have undone all the good that is slowly "paving the way to her regeneration." No right-minded Hindu ought "to feel his national instincts offended, and his self-respect diminished by allegiance to the English rule." In order to discover the real bent of the author's mind on this subject, it is only necessary to read his account of Benares. He pours an almost savage contempt on the superstitions of that holy city. In allusion to the belief that Benares is divided from the earth by an infinitesimally small interval, and is really a part of Swarga, he observes :—"Doubtless the elevated site of Benares upon a high steepy bank has given rise to the story of its being founded on the trident of Siva, and its exemption from the shock of all earthquakes. But it is to be doubted whether old Biseswara did not feel a quake at the explosion occurring some ten years ago, when a fleet of boats carrying ammunition happened to take fire below the Raj-ghaut. It is next to a certainty that he must have had a proof then of his abode upon the *terra firma*—of his city being of the earth, earthy." Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that the author is, on the question of education, a rabid Anglicist. Recognizing, as he does, the beauty of Kalidása's *Sakuntala*, which he appears to take mainly on the authority

of Goethe, he observes :—"To cultivate the Sanscrit would be to doom ourselves to seek a grain of truth from a bushel of chaff." It is not an unusual remark that for the last fifty years Englishmen have set themselves to vilify their own country, and decry their own political and social institutions. The educated Bengali seems to have imbibed, to a certain extent, the spirit of his rulers. Our author is never weary of instituting unfavorable comparisons between the Bengalis and all other nations. The Bengali is stigmatized as a coward and an idolator. He is inferior in all natural advantages to the up-country Hindu, while Hindus are inferior to the rest of the world. Much of this may be put down as exaggeration, or even as bad taste. But it would ill become an Englishman to say that a censorious criticism of the customs and institutions of one's native land, joined with an ardent desire for improvement and progress is a sign of national degeneracy.

There can be no doubt that the author has thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the nineteenth century. He does not regret the glories of Canouje or Gour. Though not insensible to the beauties of the Taj, he has little sympathy for any Mussulman but the tolerant and enlightened Akbar, and his friends, Abul Fazl and Faizi. His Gospel is that of telegraphs, steamers and Armstrong guns, and his representative man an English railway engineer.

It must not, however, be supposed that Bholanauth Chunder, though he is a devout worshipper of the European type of civilisation—though he refreshes himself with "that beverage which is brewed not from the Vedic Soma plant, but "from the English hops," is a slavish flatterer of all our national prejudices. It is in accordance with the vein of manliness which runs through the book that he expresses pretty clearly his judgment on certain unhappy pages in Anglo-Indian history. The following extract will show clearly what we mean :—

"The martial law was an outlandish demon, the like of which had not been dreamt of in Oriental demonology. Rampant and ubiquitous it stalked over the land, devouring hundreds of victims at a meal, and surpassed in devastation the *kakshasi* or the female cannibal of Hindoo fable. It mattered little whom the red-coats killed,—the innocent and the guilty, the loyal and the disloyal, the well-wisher and the traitor, were confounded in one promiscuous vengeance."

When such strictures are found in the works of a native who so thoroughly sympathises with the spirit of our rule, who evidently adores the power that has humbled the intellectual pride of the Brahman, and the military pride of the Musalman, it cannot be doubted that they deserve our most attentive consideration.

Bholanauth Chunder belongs to Young Bengal; but he does not belong to the youngest type of Young Bengal. He was educated under a remarkable man, Captain David Lester Richardson, who, though he was but a very indifferent poet himself, possessed a great taste for literature, and exercised a remarkable influence over the minds of his pupils. In those days the students in the Hindu College were encouraged to concentrate their attention, as much as possible, on one subject; and the author's book shows that he possesses a far wider acquaintance with English literature than the best specimens attain under the present system. The multifarious "cramming" now in vogue will, no doubt, secure to Bengali aspirants a large percentage of Covenanted Civil appointments, but that it will have as beneficial an influence as the older and less pretentious one, we shall not believe until convinced by the "irrefragable logic of facts."

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*Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-yun, Buddhist pilgrims, from China to India.* Translated from the Chinese. By Samuel Beal. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

MAX MÜLLER in his "Chips from a German Workshop" informs us "that M. Abel Rémusat's translation of the travels of Fah-Hian did not answer all expectations. The names of countries, towns, mountains and rivers, the titles of books and the whole Buddhistic phraseology, were so disguised in their Chinese dress, that it was frequently impossible to discover their original form." Mr. Beal's work is an attempt to produce an improved translation of the travels in question. In doing so, he has had the inestimable advantage of having before his eyes M. Stanislas Julien's translation of the travels of Hiouen Tshang. This admirable Chinese and Sanscrit scholar has hit upon a method for discovering the principles on which the Chinese transcribed the Sanscrit proper names. "Fo-to or Foe means Buddha." "Hangho Ganges, Shaman Sramana," and so on. Hiouen Tshang in the Si-yuki has given him a few hints by



his account of Pánini's Ashtaka, in which we may see the Sanscrit *bhu* conjugated for Chinese ears. By means of these and other indications, M. Stanislas Julien has been able to fix with certainty most of the localities which are mentioned in the travels of Hiouen Tshang, the greatest of the Buddhist pilgrims. Mr. Beal acknowledges his large obligations to the French *savant*. We only wish that in his own Romanization of Sanscrit words he had been more careful to preserve some regular system. In his notes the same word appears spelt in two or three different manners. Of the merits of the translation we regret that we are not capable judges. We should augur from the information contained in the notes, and the style in which the author handles the whole subject of Buddhism in his Introduction, that this will be a valuable contribution to the history of the most influential Asiatic religion.

Fah-Hian's narrative is not to be compared in interest with that of Hiouen Tshang. It is almost entirely confined to Buddhist details, and we should gather from it that the Brahmanical population in India was relatively much less important, compared with the Buddhist, in the beginning of the fifth than in the beginning of the seventh century. To borrow Mr. Beal's words, "the two centuries which followed Fah-Hian marked the last stage of Buddhist history. The system gradually degenerated from the high platform it had assumed to the level of Sivite worship, and a corrupt popular taste. And so it was in a position to be absorbed by the dominant creed. The people reverted to their idols; the priests were banished or slain; the temples were destroyed or burned."

Fah-Hian left China by the route by which Hiouen Tshang returned. He crossed the sandy desert to lake Lob, and after passing through Khotan, crossed the Tsungling mountains, and entered India by way of Ou-chang (Udyāna) and Gandhāra. He mentions Taksha-Sila (the Greek Taxila), Mathura, Canouj, Kapilavastu, and Vaisali. Like Hiouen Tshang subsequently, he found the country of "Kapilavastu a great desert. You seldom meet people on the roads, for they are much in dread of the white elephants (*sic*) and the lions, which frequent the neighbourhood and render it impossible to travel." He visited Rajágrīha, which can still be identified by his description of it, as "encircled by five hills, which form a girdle round it like the walls of a town." He spent three years at Pátaliputra in "studying the *Fan* (Sanskrit) language, and copying the

"precepts." He also spent two years at Tāmralipti or Tamlúk in the same occupation, "writing out copies of the sacred books, and taking impressions of the figures." He then "shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel," and "putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, and catching the first fair wind of the winter season, they arrived at the country of the Lions (Ceylon)." He says that a great number of jewels are found in the island, and remarks that "the plants and trees are always verdant." He mentions the honour paid to Buddha's tooth, and describes a jasper figure of Buddha, in height above twenty-two feet, "holding in its right hand a pearl of inestimable value."

After stopping two years in Ceylon, where he obtained some Buddhist books, he started on his homeward voyage. After two days a typhoon came on, and he was obliged to cast overboard various portions of his personal property, but managed to save his sacred books and images. After ninety days he arrived at Java, which he describes as a country in which "heretics and Brahmins flourish, but the law of Buddha is not known." Before he reached China, another storm came on, and the Brahmins on board wished to have him treated as a Jonah, and landed on a desert island. From this fate he was saved by his Dánapati or religious patron.

The account of the mission of Hui Seng and Sung Yung is very short, and contains little that is remarkable. But the historical importance of the narratives of Buddhist pilgrims, and particularly of the full and careful account of Hiouen Thsang, can scarcely be over-rated; Professor E. B. Cowell, whose familiarity with Sanscrit literature adds weight to his words, asserts that they are "our only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable."

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*Local Self-Government in India.* By James Wilson, Editor of the *Indian Daily News*. Calcutta: G. C. Hay & Co. 1869.

**M**R. WILSON'S pamphlet has been so ably and exhaustively reviewed by the Indian press, that we shall content ourselves with saying that it is a noble protest against the continuance of a system which it is only right and proper should be exposed. That the Corporation of Calcutta is a mockery and a "hollow sham," a mere cloak for the most arbitrary despotism, is a position which we may almost call self-evident.

But it is infinitely easier to acquiesce in this position than to ascertain the causes of the failure we deplore, or hit upon the true remedy for removing them. The problem of self-government in India is not to be solved by one pamphlet or a dozen : its solution is the one object of England's mission in the East. The task is simply to make free men of those who have been always slaves, and also to teach them how to use their freedom without abusing it ; and the task is a difficult one, because most free nations have worked out their freedom for themselves, and the experiment of forcing it upon a nation is a novel one. Still, in one way or another, we are striving to do our duty in India, and one mode in which we propose to instil the adoptive rights of freedom is by a system of municipal self-government.

We quite agree that our attempts have hitherto proved a most lamentable failure. Mr. Wilson attributes it to the ignorance of the Civil Service generally on the subject of municipal institutions, and we suppose that was the reason why some of the Justices the other day proposed that their Chairman should take a few lessons at the public expense. But we are inclined ourselves to attribute any hesitation on the part of the governing authorities in this matter not to ignorance, but rather to fear of the consequences, and more especially the consequences as affecting the non-official European element of the community. We are inclined to agree with the *Englishman* in thinking that the European quarter of the city would fare but poorly under a strict representative system among a people in whose imaginations Calcutta is already a City of Palaces.

But we are perfectly in accord with Mr. Wilson in thinking that the time has arrived when the principles of representation—the basis of all self-government—should be introduced to a limited extent ; and he has done good service in giving prominence to this portion of his subject. We are not of those who would blindly introduce everything English into this country, simply because it is English ; but we are ready to acknowledge the value of municipal institutions as being about the best means at our command for enabling us to fulfil our first duty to the country, and therefore we maintain that the system, if tried at all, should be tried at least fairly and honestly. If the Corporation of Calcutta is a delusion, what are we to say of the municipal institutions scattered throughout the Mofussil ?

## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

THE following statistics of the publications registered under Act XXV of 1867 up to the end of the last quarter are not without their interest in an educational point of view.

The total number of books registered since the Act came into operation up to the 31st March last, that is, during a period of twenty-one months, was 1,661. Of those registered during the past year, 534 were written in Bengali, 394 in English, 50 in Sanscrit, 11 in Hindi, 9 in Urdu, 7 in Urdu, 4 in Arabic, 1 in Persian and 1 in Italian; while 77 were diglot editions. It will be seen that Bengali books are the most numerous; but the greater number of them are either school books or mere reprints of editions which originally appeared long ago. Of the latter class are a vast number of corrupt translations from the shastras, generally versified, and composing the popular literature of Bengal. The language of them is far from choice or elevating; on the contrary, it is not unfrequently *obscene and sensual in the extreme*. And yet such books have a large circulation, and are scattered widely up and down the country. One of the most popular books is the native Almanac, of which twenty-two editions consisting of 170,000 copies, of larger or smaller size, were issued within six months.

But it must not be supposed that no Bengali books of a higher stamp are published. We are glad to believe that there is a daily-increasing section of the educated community who feel the want of a better and higher class of literature, and this demand will soon no doubt improve the character of Bengali works. Even now we find books published from time to time which reflect considerable credit on their authors.

Among these we may mention Babu Taranath Bachaspati's new Sanskrit Dictionary which promises to be exceedingly valuable, and Babu Kali Kinkar Chakrabarti's edition of the Ramāyan, with a Bengali translation by Babu Hemchandra Bhattacharjya. Babu Nilkomal Ghosal has issued a Bengali school Atlas, very neatly lithographed by Messrs. Black & Co., in which the various lines of railway are marked, and which also contains a map of physical geography, and maps of ancient India and of the Roman Empire. There are two books on music also, and several medical works, which seem to be written in a superior style. We proceed to notice some of the later vernacular publications at greater length.

*Pativrátádharma, or the Duties of Wives to their Husbands.*

By the late Dayámayí Deví. Edited by Jagachchandra Senagupta. Calcutta: Chitpore Road ; Vattalá. B. E. 1275.

THIS little book of fifty pages, of both prose and verse, is said to have been written by a Hindu lady who died before it was sent to press. If this statement be true, and we have no reason to doubt it, as it is deliberately and publicly made in a preface by the editor—the brother of the deceased lady—the book must be peculiarly interesting as showing the progress of female education in Bengal. How she received her education, and how she came to write this book, the fair author tells us in the following introductory notice :—

“I never imagined for a moment that I should ever be able to read books, or even to learn the alphabet. But owing to my good fortune I was happily married, and my good man initiated me into the mysteries of the Bengali alphabet. By the will of Heaven and the favor of my husband-god, I began to read with him easy books written purposely for women. My thirst for reading both prose and verse grew to such an extent, that I became somewhat remiss in the discharge of my household duties, and in contributing to the comfort of my husband. I began also to compose a little. My husband having one day seen a short essay I had written on the duties of women to their husbands, was pleased to request me to write a book on that subject. Agreeably to that request, I have written this book in easy Bengali, both prose and verse ; but how far I have been successful, it is not for me to say, especially as this book is filled with stories from the *Purānas*. I trust, however, that the gentle reader will not be severe in his criticism, considering that it is the composition of a Bengali woman, and considering also that even the harsh dissonance of the bird *súka* is not disagreeable to the ear of a poet. However that may be, it is hoped that the reader, showing mercy (*dayá*) to Dayámayí, will overlook the faults of this book.”

But apart from the fact that it is the composition of a Hindu lady, the book is interesting as containing the views of a real oriental lady on the character of the relationship existing between husband and wife, and the duties flowing from it. How husbands were regarded in that ancient home in Central Asia, where the ancestors of the Hindu, the Greek, the Roman, the Teutonic, the Celtic and the Slavonian races resided under

the same roof, we know not ; there is, at present, at any rate, a wide divergence of views on that subject between a Hindu lady and her Teutonic sister. Let the English "girl of the period," or the fast young lady of New York, listen to Dayamayí's views as to how a husband should be regarded by the wife. Dayamayí pours her ideas forth in Bengali verse ; but as the gods have not made us poetical, we present them in English prose :—"The husband is the wife's religion, the wife's sole business, the wife's all-in-all. There is no going of the wife without the husband. The wife should meditate on her husband as on Brahma. For her all pilgrimages are concentrated on her husband's foot. The command of the husband is as obligatory as a precept of the Vedas. To a chaste wife her husband is as the great God. When the husband is pleased, Brahma is pleased. The merit of waiting on the feet of the husband is equivalent to the merit of performing all the pilgrimages in the world. To obey the husband is to obey the Vedas ; to disobey the husband is to disobey the Vedas. \* \* \* To worship the husband is to worship the gods. \* \* \* The husband is the alone spiritual director of the wife. The husband is the wife's life ; her honor ; her ornament ; the giver of her happiness ; the promoter of her welfare ; the bestower of fortune, fame, righteousness and heaven ; her deliverer from sorrow and sin."

From the days of Solomon the King of Judæa, who wrote of the "excellent woman," many authors have striven to present to their readers the picture of a perfect woman. Our fair author draws us the following portrait of her ideal :—"The husband-loving, god-and-Brahman-worshipping woman should, early in the morning, do obeisance to her husband-god ; sprinkle the floor with water and cow-dung, make her ablutions, worship the gods, Brahmans, and her husband ; attend on her husband while taking his food prepared by herself ; feed guests, if any ; and then, last of all, take her own breakfast. Such is the chaste and happy wife."

We shall conclude this brief notice with the following items of advice which Dayamayí gives to her own countrywomen :—"Never speak untruth to your husband. If he rebukes you, bear it patiently. Rejoice when your husband rejoices ; weep when he weeps. Obey your husband always, serve him diligently, speak to him sweetly. Regard your mother-in-law more than your own mother, and your father-in-law more than your own father. Deeply revere your husband's elder

"brother, he is your chief *guru*. Your husband's younger brothers you should love as your own children, and your husband's sisters as your own sisters, for the husband is your own body. \* \* \* \* Do not quarrel with any one. Go to bed late at night, and rise early."

*Mahākavi Kālidās Prantā Vikramorvasī Nātak.* Translated from the original Sanskrit. Calcutta; Amherst Street: B. E. 1275.

THIS is a Bengali translation of the celebrated poem of Kālidās entitled *Vikramorvasī*, with an English translation of which by the late Professor H. H. Wilson our readers may be acquainted. It would be out of place here to dilate on the merits of the original poem. We, therefore, content ourselves with saying that the present Bengali translation is almost perfect. The name of the translator is not on the title-page; but we understand that it is the work of the late lamented Babu Gyanendra Mohan Tagore. The book is well 'got up,' and does credit to the *Kāvya Prakāsa* Press.

*A'laler Gharer Dulāl Nātak.* By Hira Lāla Mitra. Calcutta: Vidyaratna Press. Śākābdā 1791.

A NOVEL dramatized is not much to our taste, as generally the result is neither a novel nor a drama. The present performance is no exception to this rule. *A'laler Gharer Dulāl*, in its original form, is an admirable novel; and a very favorable notice of it appeared in this *Review* when it was first published. But the novel transformed into a play is, in our opinion, a failure. The characters are not brought out distinctly, the action is not sufficiently varied, some of the speeches read like homilies, and the whole has a "sensational" air. We recommend the writer, and he has considerable powers, to take to original composition.

*Kalikātār Nukochuri; The mysteries of Society in Calcutta.* Vol. 1. By Tek Chand Thakur, Junior. Calcutta. Vidyaratna Press. 1869.

TEK Chānd Thākur, Junior, is evidently ambitious of rivalling two authors, *viz.*, Tek Chānd Thākur and Hutom Pyānchá. But he has not attained either to the height of the former, or the depth of the latter. Tek Chānd Thākur has great powers

of observation, of thought, of description ; he possesses genuine humour, and is moral. His literary son, the author before us, is poor in observation, poor in thought, poor in description ; makes wretched attempts at witticism, and, professing to advocate the cause of virtue, only promotes the interests of vice. Hutom Pyáncá is by no means a moral writer ; indeed, the tendency of his writings is decidedly the reverse ; but no one can doubt that he is a writer of great power. The author of the "Mysteries of Society in Calcutta" affects to despise Hutom, but it is a species of feigned contempt which springs from admiring despair. Not content with this, however, our author has endeavoured to wound the writer, whom he cannot rival ; for who that is acquainted with native society in Calcutta can doubt that the character "Abdare Chhele," or the "spoilt child," in the 11th chapter of the book before us, is none other than the reputed author of *Hutóm Pyáncár Naksá* ?

The story of the "Mysteries of Calcutta" is soon told. The hero is *Pámar Lal Mitra* of Ahiritolla, in Calcutta, who had "the learning of the goddess Sárasvati, the beauty of Kártikeya, "and the belly of Ganesa." The bulk of the volume before us is occupied with details of the drunkenness, debauchery and tomfoolery of Pámar Babu and his boon companions. At last on an auspicious day—a day on which there was a good deal of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning—he becomes a reformed character, begs forgiveness from his wife whom he had long slighted, goes on a pilgrimage to Benares, takes the pledge of total abstinence, composes moral and religious hymns, returns to Calcutta, and dies a happy death in the arms of his wife. Such is the story. There is no originality in the contrivance—indeed it is a "true copy" of the story of *Aláler Gharer Dulál* ; there is no ingenuity in working out the details, while some of the incidents, like the marriage of *Kshetranath* with the daughter of *Sannyás* the oilman, are "foolish and ridiculous excess." There are incessant attempts to make the reader laugh ; but the jokes are so silly and crude, that they only provoke the anger of a sensible man.

That some educated Babus possess the character that our author ascribes to them, we admit. But we deny that the book gives a fair portraiture of the average Bengali Babu. Our author in his preface calls his book a "mirror," faithfully representing Native society in Calcutta. We trust, for the sake of our native friends themselves, that this is not correct ; for, if it is, it would follow, that native society is mainly composed



of senseless madcaps, dissolute livers, and drunken miscreants. Our experience is different, and we have no doubt that our native readers regard the "looking-glass" of Tek Chánd Thakur, Junior, as one that gives distorted images. The writer threatens us with a second volume of his "Mysteries," but if the "Mysteries," which are yet in the womb of futurity, be of a piece with those which have already seen the light, we trust he will save us the infliction.

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*Kavítalaharí.* By Ram Das Sena. Second Edition. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. B. E. 1273.

ONE proof of the one-sidedness and inaccuracy of the pictures of native society drawn by Tek Chánd Thakur, Junior, and others of the same school, is afforded by the book, the title of which is given above. Here is a young man of five-and-twenty years of age or thereabouts, a rich man and a zemindar to boot, who, instead of going the giddy round of dissipation—as we are told most educated Bengalis do—not only betakes himself to the pursuit of knowledge, but enriches the literature of his country by poetical contributions from his own pen. This "Wave of Poetry"—for such is the meaning of the title—consists of a great many short poems, half of which are sonnets—a species of poetry hitherto unknown in Bengali literature, and only recently introduced by Mr. M. M. S. Datta, Barrister-at-law. Our poet, unlike most of his poetical countrymen, does not confine himself to love and the legends of the *Puranas*, but writes on fresh and interesting subjects, such as the following :— "Aurangzebe's Dream," "The Bhagirathi in the evening," "Lament of a Ryot in an Indigo Planter's prison," "Eclipse of the Moon," "Ruins of Cossimbazar," "The Fort of Monghyr," "Chaitanya," "Rajah Ram Mohan Raya," "The sea at night," "The Rani of Jhansi," "On seeing the monument of Suraj-ud-Dowlah," "Ahalya Bai," and others. Many of the pieces are of considerable merit, and that they are popular is attested by the fact that the volume has in the course of a short time reached a second edition.

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*Súra Sundarí ; or the Fair Heroine.* By Ranga Lal Banerjea. Calcutta : Baptist Mission Press, 1868.

BABU Ranga Lal Banerjea is one of the best Bengali writers of the day ; and though he has written a good deal in prose,

is chiefly known as a poet. And he is no mean poet. Indeed, to our mind, he is perhaps the first Bengali poet of the day. We are aware of the claims of Mr. M. M. S. Datta, whom we remember to have seen styled the "Milton of Bengal." It reminded us of the incident, when Coleridge, the poet and metaphysician, heard Klopstock, the author of the "Messiah," called the German Milton. "Yes, a *very* German Milton," replied Coleridge. Not that we deny merit to Mr. Datta as a poet; his powers are undoubtedly great. But he is such a Tartar in the field of Bengali literature, that he is bound by no laws and rules whatever, but deems himself superior to them. Such license may be allowable in superhuman geniuses like Goëthe and Shakespeare; but in a poetaster like Mr. Datta, it is simply intolerable. Mr. Datta has probably more power than Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea, but the latter excels in grace. Mr. Datta is wild, irregular, eccentric; Babu Ranga Lal is neat, elegant, and idiomatic. A great fault in Mr. Datta is—and it is a very vulgar fault—that he tries to pick out all the hardest words in the dictionary. The practice of all great poets, like Wordsworth and Tennyson, is just the opposite; they use the most common, simple and familiar words. Mr. Datta never writes Bengali poetry, one would suppose, without having *Amarukosh* or Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary before him.

Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea's muse derives inspiration, it seems, chiefly from Colouel Tod's *Annals of Rujasthan*. Some years ago he favoured us with the elegant poem of *Padmini Upākhyān*, a tale of Rajput story; and now he presents to his countrymen the *Sūra Sundarī*, a tale founded on an incident of the same story. The story lies in a nutshell. The Emperor Akbar was fond of Rajput ladies, the chief of his *harem* being *Yodha*, the sister of Maun Sing, once the Viceroy of Bengal. Akbar heard of the beauty of *Sattī*, the wife of *Prithvī*, brother of the Rajah of Bhikavir, and wanted to have her. With this view he got up a *nourajah* or Fancy Fair, at which all the beauties of his vast empire assisted. *Prithvī's* wife, peerless in beauty, "a very incarnation of feminine grace," was of course there. As gentlemen were not permitted to be present at the Fair, Akbar assumed the disguise of a *Yogi*, who, on account of his sanctity, is allowed access everywhere. But the plans of the imperial *Yogi* were disconcerted by his beloved consort *Yodha*, whom jealousy instigated to assume the disguise of a *Yoginī* and to follow in the wake of her husband. Akbar, however,

happening to meet *Satī* alone, used every sort of entreaty. *Satī*, true to her name, repels him, and he retires completely baffled. The story is well conceived, the images select, and the description natural. Our poet has a minor fault,\* however, which he would do well to correct. Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea is a little too fond of alliteration—the besetting sin of Bengali poets. An alliteration here and there is pleasing; but an excessive use of it grates upon the ear. Witness the following from page 4—

“*Dullir dordand darpa dēpta das disi* ;”

and similar examples might be quoted from almost every page. We are aware that Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea's countrymen are fond of excessive alliteration, but he should aim at imparting to them a juster and a more refined taste. Notwithstanding this, and some other faults which might be pointed out, the *Sūra Sundarī* is, on the whole, a choice and successful poem.











